The Contre-Guyse:

Wherein is deciphered the pretended title *of the* Guyses, *and the first entrie* of the saide Family into Fraunce,

with their ambitious aspiring and pernitious practises for the obtaining of the French Crowne.

LONDON,
Imprinted by Iohn Woolfe,
1589.

The Contre-Guyse:

CONTAINING

the entry of the sayde Family into Fraunce, with their ambitious aspirings, and *permitious practises for the obtaining of the crowne thereof.*

THings naturall, saith Plutarch, are subiect to a continual fluxe of generation and corruption, and he onely immutable, who neuer had beginning, neyther shall haue ending. Man, as touching his body, hath certaine periodes, wherein he euidently admitteth alteration, and according to the same doth increase and decrease, as the flower of age is swallowed vp in olde age; youth, in the flower of age, infancie in youth, and childhood in infancie. Herein dooth nature resemble the image of man, and man the figure of euery commonwealth, which how excellent and beautifull soeuer, doth by degrees wax old,

as matter ſubiect to the brooke of liquide nature. Antiquitie hath knowne ſome well grounded in mightines, and triumphing in glory, but any that haue withſtoode the courſe of time, hath no man ſeene, or euer ſhall: For as our bodies doo come to be diſſolued, eyther through outward bruiſes, proceeding of extreme violence of ſtripes, or bad proportion of humors, or finally by beeing broken and worne with olde age: euen ſo likewiſe doo commonwealthes and publike affaires growe to their laſt periode, and decay through diuers accidents: Some are ouerwhelmed and drowned in deſolations, which ouerflow all: ſome kindled with fire of ciuill diſſention: and other ſome vndermined by time, doo ſo growe to the laſt periode of continuance, and as a perſon worne with age doo take end. To indeuour therefore to ſettle the courſe of worldly affaires, were, with the Giants to ſeeke to skale the heauens. But to take ſuch order, that the alteration of the commonwealth may gently and naturally take effect: to ſeeke all meanes to yeeld it ſure footing: to ſpread the ſayles to all windes, for the bringing of it to the harbour of ſafegard: If it bee ſicke, to play the phiſition: if it ſtumble, to lend it a hande: if the ſight of it fayle, to reach it ſpectacles: and finally, if it be ſtriken in yeares, to become the ſtaffe of the old age thereof: all theſe are the

the partes of a good and louing nature, yea, of ſuch a nature, as is vtterly free from all Cinicall curriſhneſſe; and to ſay the truth, is no more but the diſcharge of our dueties vnto our country.

This is the reaſon, O ye Frenchmen, why now that ſome for the patching vp of the olde broken walles of their auncestors ambition, doo goe about to choke vp our quietneſſe, in trayning forward their curſed and execrable purpoſes, with the expences of our goodes, blood, and liues. I cannot, as one ſtanding vpon the firme land, gaze vppon the ſhipwracke of my country, but ſeeing it toſſed, and floting in daunger, muſt needes caſt foorth the laſt ſacred ancker of my ſelfe, which is, a boldneſſe of free ſpeech: and becauſe in humane accidents the diſcourſe muſt be deriued from the originall, marke now the ſpring of our miſerable calamitie.

In the time of Lewis the 12. ſurnamed the father of the people, Claude of Lorrayne, or rather of Vaudemont, ſet foot in France, where he ſtraightwaies began to remooue euery ſtone for the laying of the foundation of that mightines, whereunto we now ſee his ſucceſſors aſcended, and did ſo dazle the eies of the French with a falſe ſhew of his wealth, that in the yeare 1512 about the feaſt of God at Paris, in the hoſtel of

Eſtampes, hee marryed Anthoinet of Bourbon, daughter to Frauncis of Bourbon, and Mary of Luxembourg. But Frauncis Duke of Valois, and Earle of Angoleſme, by the deceaſe of the ſayde Lewis comming to the crowne, and beginning to ſmell out the humour of this ſtraunger, helde him ſhort, & diuiding the chiefeſt offices of his houſe, then void, ouerſlipped him. The Duke of Bourbon was made Conſtable, the Earle of Vandoſme Gouernour of the Ile of Fraunce, the L. of Lautrec Gouernour of Guyen, the L. of Paliſſe Marſhall of Fraunce, the L. of Boiſſy great Maiſter, Anne L. of Montmorency, and Philip Chabot the Kings two fauorites: Of Claude of Lorraine there was no ſpeech, his winges were yet too ſhort to ſoare to ſuch highneſſe, vnder the ſhadow whereof hee lay a whyle hidden, which no whit diminiſhed his hope of happy ſucceſſe. But Ambition, which (as ſayth Thucidides) neuer dyeth in man, cauſing him ſtifly to withſtand fortune, taught him ſo ſlily to blot out whatſoeuer ſiniſter opiniō the king had conceiued of him, that after many turnings & toſſings, he was finally takē into houſhold, & made great hunter, which office had long continued in families of gentlemen of meane account: vnder Charles the 6. it was adminiſtred by Lewis of Orguechin: vnder Lewis the 11. by Iuon of Fou: vnder Lewis the 12. by the Lords of Chenetz & Rouuille,

Du Bellay. lib. 1.

Plutarch in his treatiſe, whether an olde man, &c.

Du Tillet chap. of the great hunter & falconer.

Rouuille, whereby it is to be preſumed, that this Lorraine was then farre off from the greatneſſe pretended by his ſucceſſors, and that it could not be ſaid of him, that he made way to dignitie by the countenance of his auncestors, as by a certaine Romaine it was obiected to Piſo: but rather that of a courſe haire & ſmall credit himſelfe opened a way to himſelf to honor through craft and guile, yea, like a wily Foxe, as is ſaid of Pope Boniface the 8. For in truth hee ſo cunningly purſued the point of his good hap, and from time to time ſo ſoundly huſbanded the kings fauours, that according to the diuers occurrences of affaires hee executed ſundry functions. For about the yeare 1515, the king leuying an Army for the conqueſt of Millan, got into his pay 6000 Allemaigns, vnder the leading of the Duke of Guelderland, who ſhortly after hearing that the Brabanders had entred his country, poſted home to releeue his owne people, and left his charge to Claude of Lorraine, Lord of Guiſe: neuertheleſſe in the yeare 1521, in Admirall Boniuels voiage into Nauarre, he had the conduct onely of 2500 launce-knights, and in the yeare 1522, ſeruing in Picardy vnder the Lord of Vendoſme, he had the charge onely of one company of men at Armes: But the wind turned ſo fauourably for him, that in the yeare 1523, when the Lord of Trimouile was made gouer- Du Bellay. lib. 1.

gouernor of Picardy, he left to him the gouern-ment of Burgondy, whereto the next yeare was adioyned Champaigne, by reaſon of the iourney into Italy, whither the chiefeſt of Fraunce accompanyed the King, at whoſe returne this Lorraine did ſo cunningly bend his affections, that in Ianuary 1527, hee erected him his village of Guyſe into a Duchie, & in tract of time Charles Duke of Orleance, the kinges yonger ſonne being ſent with a great Army to ground and caſt the burden of the warres vppon the Duchie of Luxembourg, had for his chiefe Counſellors the Lords of Iametz and Guiſe. Thus may wee ſee this Lorraine crept very high for a gentleman of baſe golde: but ſuch was the kinges pleaſure, whoſe power appeareth in exalting the baſe, enriching the poore, and increaſing the ſmall: ſuch was his fauour, yea ſuch, that although there ſtill reſted in him ſome ſiniſter impreſſion of this ſtraungers humours, yet would he not neuertheleſſe depriue him of any of his offices or dignities, ſo that he proſecuting his good hap, obtained ſo ready entry into the fauours of king Henry the 2. that his children being honorably appointed, he procured Aumale to be erected into a Duchie, in the yeare 1547. & ſo, to be briefe, being growne rich in goodes, alliance, and honour, as beeing Duke of Guyſe and Aumale, Peer of Fraunce, and gouernor of Burgundy,

Burgundy, hee deceaſed the 18. of Aprill 1550. in this like to M. Perpenna, who, as witneſſeth Valerius, was Conſull before hee was Citizen: but vnlike in that, that as ſaith the ſame author: *The life of Perpenna was triumphant, but his death ignominious, through the lawe Papia in his fathers perſon, who being naturally a ſtraunger, was baniſhed Rome for vſurping the priuileges of Romane Citizens*, whereas contrariwiſe this mans children continued their fathers triumphes, yea as it was ſaid of Perpenna, They haue with a miſchiefe rooted themſelues in a forraine land.

This was the ſtraunger, O ye Frenchmen, to whom you might haue ſaid, as the Lacedemonians ſaid to Philip king of Macedon, that they would not he ſhould come into their land, either as a freend or as a foe: this is that wretch, of whome yee may ſay as of Sillaes father, that he could ſcarſe bee honeſt, ſeeing hee grew ſo ſoone rich: this is that vagabond, on whom we ſhould practiſe the ſaying of Theophraſtus, importing, that we muſt not loue ſtrangers to proue them, but proue them to loue them: this is that great hunter, that faulconer that hath brought vp his children after the manner of rauenous fowles, who with their ambition, as with a crooked beake, doo rent poore Fraunce in pieces, & with ſharpe tallants do ſeeke to ſeaze vpon this eſtate: O wiſe and valiant king Frauncis, how neere a

Plut. in his notable ſayings of the Lacedemonians.

Plut. in the life of Silla.

Plut. of brotherly loue.

true prophet came you, when you foretold that if euer this wretches ofspring tooke footing or ſure root in Fraunce, it would ſtrip the kings into their doublets, and the people into their ſhirtes: for wee may geſſe at that which is to come, by that which is eyther preſent or paſt, conſidering that nothing is done without cauſe, neither can any thing bee foreſeene without ſome reaſon preceding. This Oracle might haue made vs to haueſtood vpon our gard, but who can auoyd deſtinie?

The children of this Claude of Lorraine beeing fatally deſtinate to the ſubuerſion of this eſtate, haue enioyed the moſt part of the fauours of Court vnder Henry the 2. at whoſe coronation they ſo cunningly exalted their ambitiõ, that they got the chiefe point of honour and preſidence before the Duke of Montpenſier, a prince of the bloud, as by the acte reſerued by du Thier Secretary of commaundements, the 25. of Iuly 1547. which alſo in the yeare 1559. they put in practiſe at the annointing of king Frauncis the 2. in reſpect, ſaide they, of the antiquitie of their Peeryes, wherein muſt bee more regard of the repreſented then of the repreſenting, notwithſtanding it had beene otherwiſe adiudged by a decree of the parliament of Paris, betweene the Dukes of Montpenſier and Neuers in Iune 1541. Hauing wonne this barre and title of greatnes

Du Tillet in his collection of the great men of France.

ouer

ouer France; they began vpon the earneſt peny of their credit more & more to diſplay the wings of their ambition: and in truth, as the defect of veſſels cannot be ſeen ſo long as they ſtand emptie, but when licour is powred into them: euen ſo rotten and corrupt minds can no longer conceale themſelues, when they haue once attained to authoritie and power, but muſt needes burſt foorth and diſplay themſelues in their couetous affections and inſolencies, as may bee noted in theſe vntimely births of fortune: For about the yeare 1548, when a certaine aduocate of the parliament in his plea for the Duke of Guyſe, had giuen him the qualitie of a Prince, which by a preſent decree was razed, it ſo ſet them out of ioint, and filled them with bitternes, that the Cardinall Charles of Lorraine neuer left remouing euery ſtone for the diſplacing of Preſident Liſet, vntill hee had compaſſed the ſame in the yeare 1550, though vnder an other pretence. Afterward, for the further aduauncing of their ambitious drifts, and the nearer to reſemble the Cantharides, who, as Plutarch ſaith, doo ſtill creepe into the pureſt wheat and freſheſt roſes, they entered liſtes with the Lord Anne of Montmorency, vppon whome after ſundry croſſings, and vnder fauour of his impriſonment, which fell in the yeare 1557, at the battell of Sainct Laurence, they ſo encroched, that the

king gaue to Francis of Lorraine a commiſſion of Lieutenant general, wherat the Conſtable, as a wary perſon, and one practiſed in ſeruing the time, could very well winke, and ſo ſet a faire countenance vpon a fowle game. But in tract of time the king grew to bee ſo glutted with the faire ſpeeches of theſe Lorraines, and their importunate baying at the chiefe offices of the crowne, that as one not troubled with any lethargie of mind, but euen to the quicke feeling ſome drifts of their ambition, he reſolued vtterly to rid his hands of ſuch & ſo ſubtil husbands, and to driue them from about his perſon, yea, euen out of his dominions, wherein they had through their crafty conueiances fattened themſelues, euen to the great cõtempt of the Queene now the kings mother, who through their perſwaſions was at the point to haue beene ſhamefully reiected, and to the deſolation of the French nation, among whom they haue ſerued onely for bellowes to kindle the fire of ciuil diſſentiõs, ſo that ſince they came to be our gueſts we may exclaime of Fraunce, as did Ageſilaus of Greece, when hee heard of a cruell conflict neere to Corinth betweene the mutinous Græcians one againſt another. Oh vnhappy Greece, who with their owne handes haue made away men ynow in one day of battaile to haue ouercome all the Barbarians togither! But the kings purpoſe

Plut. in his notable ſayings of the Lacedemonians.

purpose was preuented by Gods prouidence, who not willing to take that scourge from vs, made France a widow of this good king in Iuly, 1559, & so gaue vs ouer for a pray to the intollerable ambition, insatiable auarice, and raging cruelty of these strangers, who raigning ouer vs vnder the shadow of king Francis the 2. and vnder the fauour of his minoritie plaied open play against the Princes of blood, yea, and set so sure foot vpon the throat of this estate, that Fraunce was the bloody scaffold, good Frenchmen the martyrs, and these Lorrains, most cruell, felloni-ous, and vnmercifull hangmen. This storme might immediatly after the decease of K. Henry haue beene foreseene: for whilest the Princes of the blood and chiefe officers of the crowne kept their maisters bodie at the Tournelles the kings house in S. Anthonies street, where euery thing sounded of sorrow and mournfull sonnets, these gentlemen triumphed at the Louure, whither they had caried the king, about whom they commanded at pleasure, and vnder the cloke of tutorship made thēselues way to the souereigntie, as did Tarquin the 1. who vnder the like pretence wrested the Romane kingdome out of the hands of Ancus Martius children, or as Stillicō & Ruffin, who being tutors to Arcadius & Honorius, brought the Romane Empire into combustion. But what ingratitude, what inhumane

vnthankfulneſſe was it to ſtand with drye eyes, when all other accompanied the king with weeping and teares? What tiranny, to bend their maſters minoritie to their paſſions? What impudencie, to intrude vpon the authoritie of the Princes of the blood? The law (by the common aduiſe of the three eſtates aſſembled at Tours, Anno 1484. decreed) commaundeth, *If the crowne fall to a pupill the 3. eſtates muſt be aſſembled, and by them the king prouided of a counſell for the gouernment of his nonage:* The cuſtome is, *The Princes of the blood haue the firſt place in this counſell*, as it fell out, when at the deceaſe of Lewis the 11. Charles the 8. at the age of 14. yeares came to the crowne. The Romane lawes will, *That hee that affecteth or intrudeth himſelfe into any tutorſhip, ſhould be reiected as ſuſpect.* Beſides, it is a generall, ſacred and inuiolable rule, *That no forraine Prince hold degree in France.* But what can reaſon doo in rage, or cuſtome among diſorders? what can right doo where force beareth ſway? or of what force are lawes among murder, blood, and tiranny? hauing aſſured themſelues of his Maieſties perſon, they played their game ſo cunningly, that a new gard was eſtabliſhed vnder the Seneſchall of Agen: Diana of Poictiers Ducheſſe of Valentinois, baniſhed the Court: Bertrandi Preſident of Tholouſe, vnto whome Henry the 2. had committed the ſeales

of

of Fraunce, flatly deferred, though pacified vnder hope of better: The ſuperintendence of the Treaſurie taken from Auanſon, and vnder colour of good husbandry, the faithfulleſt ſeruants of the crowne being diſplaced, the gate of honour was open to none but the confederates of two ſtraungers, who for their owne particular profite encroched to themſelues all publike affaires, euen as the winde *Cæcias*, which (as it is ſaide) draweth the clowdes to it, and furniſhed the law with men of like ſtuffe as themſelues, & ſuch as were vowed vnto the execution of their bad purpoſes: as alſo at the ſame time they ſtrengthened their owne faction with the amitie of the Marſhals Briſſac & S. Andrew, & the Cardinal of Tournon, the Coneſtables ſworne enemy. Putting in practiſe alſo Andronodorus counſaile (who abuſing the minority of Hierom king of Sicill, whome he purpoſed to rob of his eſtate, perſwaded him to baniſh the chiefe of his Realme from the Court) they did vnder the kings auow craftily diſperſe all thoſe that might haue croſſed the courſe of their fortune, & with whome they could by no meanes beare, not ſo much becauſe of the difference of their natures, as for that the French cannot put on the Lorraines nature, or the Lorraine the Frenchmans, according to the ſaying of Cicero, ſpeaking of the ordinary controuerſies betweene the Romane

mane Conſuls and Tribunes. *The fire of ciuill diſſention is kindled betweene them, not ſo much through diuerſitie of qualities, as by contrarietie of humors & complexions.* And thus was the Prince of Condé ſent into Flaunders, vnder pretence of ſtrengthening the amitie with king Philip, and after him the Prince of Roch-ſur-yon, who at his returne was choſen togither with the Cardinal of Bourbon, to cõduct La. Elizabeth into Spaine: The Duke of Montpenſier was furniſhed with the gouernment of Touraine, but they appointed Chauigny to be his Lieutenant, with ſuch authoritie, that the Prince had onely the title: The Conſtable had the gentle thumpe, and among other trauerſes loſt the office of Great-maiſter, which wound was afterward renewed in the controuerſie for the countie of Dampmartin, which Frauncis of Lorraine Ceſſionary of Rambures pretended to carrie away. The court beeing thus become a widow of the Princes of the blood, and naked of the braueſt of the French knights, the Guyſians began to build vp their houſes with the decay of many other, yea in ſuch ſorte as they ſpared neyther freend nor foe, Papiſt nor Proteſtant, ſpirituall goodes nor temporall: witneſſe the Countie of Nantueil, and the chiefe benefices of the Cardinall of Lenoncourt, a frend to their family: witneſſe the goods of the Marquiſe of Neelle, & of the Lord

of

of Grignan, the castle of Meudon, the house of Marchais, & the land of Cheureus: witnesse the Monkes of Monstier-endé, whom the Cardinall thrust out, & burned al the titles of their church for the enriching of his house of Ginuille: witnesse the Storier of S. Disier, whom he caused to be burned for a Lutherian, notwithstanding, by the testimonie of all the country, hee went ordinarily to Masse, so as the poore man might say as Quintus Aurelius, who finding himselfe in the roule of those who by placards were banished, notwithstanding he neuer medled with the warres of eyther Marius or Silla, cryed out, *Helas my house at Alle killeth me*. Shall I come to the conclusion and last acte of the Tragedy? Shall I open a wound which yet bleedeth? Things grew to that passe, that by the Cardinall and his brother all lawes & good decrees were taken down: the Parliaments of the Realme dishonored, and euery way derided: the people choked with tyranny: the Prince of Condé imprisoned at Orleance for fellonie, falsly inuented, as afterward it is declared by a decree of the priuie councell, dated the 13. of March 1560. and by two decrees of the court of Parliament: the La. of Roye imprisoned at S. Germaines in Laye: the Constables house appointed to ruine and subuersion: his nephew the L. d'Andelot discharged of the office of Coronell of the French footmen: the

Plut. in Silla.

Cardinall of Arminacke baniſhed the court: the Vidame of Chartres miſerably detained in the Baſtille: the priſons full of poore innocents: the ſkaffolds red with blood: the gibbets ordinarie: fiers kindled: all was but deſtruction and deſolation: but robbing of houſes: proclamations of baniſhments: and moſt cruell executions: in peace we bare the effects of a bloody warre, and in calme and faire weather the face of Fraunce was horrible and fearefull: and yet do we ſuckle vp theſe hangmen with our blood: we feed them with our goods: we make them triumph in our ſhame, and to them onely are the gates of honors open: but why doo we not rather ſpeake as did Rabirius by his aduocates mouth? *Gracchus* (ſaid he) *would rather haue ſuffered 1000 moſt cruell deaths, then haue ſeene the hangman aſſiſtant in his court, who by the lawes of the Cenſors, ought to haue no habitation in Rome.* And yet is the hangman, as the miniſter of iuſtice, more tollerable then theſe, who in their bloody executions were not authoriſed, but by their owne ambition, whereto they had ſo ſmoothed the way, that there wanted no more but with open title to proclame themſelues kings. For, to giue prouinces and the treaſury: to make lawes, & to breake them: to determine of warre and peace: to giue and take away offices: to ſend embaſſages: and in all things to haue the laſt voice, was common among

among them: what then did they want more then the name, annointing, and crowne? hauing alſo laid their principall plot vpon certaine ſeditious miniſters of their paſſions, they drewe apace to the ſoueraignitie, if God, euen God truly, the preſeruer of France, had not caſt a blocke in their way anno 1560. by the kinges death, whoſe name they made their buckler to the deſtruction of himſelfe and his eſtate: and vnder whoſe pretenſe they made the rampier of the vnruly effect of their immoderate paſſions, ſo that not beeing yet throughly fortified with all things neceſſary for their purpoſes, they ſtumbled in the mid way, and their affaires ſuffered a chaunge. But now, O ye Frenchmen, looke vpon your kinges funeralles: his body without any pompe or ſolemnitie was conueied by Sanſac and Broſſe to S. Denis, where it was ſimply buried. Bluſh ye Guyſians, yea for ſhame hide your ſelues, when you heare that Hanniball beſtowed honorable funerals vpon the Conſul Caius Flaminius, whom he ſlew at the lake of Peruſe: that Lucius Cornelius did as much for Hanno the generall of the Carthagineans, and Marcus Antonius vpon his enemy Arcilaus: and yet you without any pompe doo commit to the earth the body of ſo great a king, yea of that king that raiſed you to the tipe of honor. Hide, hide your ſelues, I ſay, when you vnderſtand that Alexan-

der ſpent 6. millions of gold vpon the funerals of Epheſtion, and yet you that haue beene ſo prodigall of the common-wealth in your owne priuate affaires are become ſo nigardly in matter concerning the funerals of one of the mightieſt monarckes of the earth. The Emperor Auguſtus euen in winter time came from Rome to Pauye before the body of Druſus: Tiberius did aſſiſt the funerals of Auguſtus, Caligula thoſe of Tiberius, and Nero thoſe of Claudius: The kinges, Childebert and Clotaire led the body of Queene Clotilde from Tours to Paris: Lewes the groſe that of king Philippe the firſt, from Meleun to S. Bennets vpon Loyre: and Phillip the 3. holpe to cary the Biere of S. Lewes from Paris to S. Denis, and yet you vnthankfull perſons, you muſhroms of a nightes grouth cannot vouchſafe to ſet one foote out of the gates of Orleãce for the leaſt ſeruice of pietie to your maiſters body! & yet muſt you be tearmed the Zopires of our kinges, the corner ſtones of this realme, the eyes, the ſinewes, and the vaynes of this body! but rather indeede the tirants of our kings, the ſcourges of the poore people, & the ſpunges of our treaſures: you I ſay, who haue no other God but ambition, no other king but Auarice, ne any other religion then deſire of gain, after which we ſee that you are fleſhed as Rauens after carriõ, who rather then to leaue your hold

hold will sometimes cast your honour at your backs: witnesse the lies that the late Lord prince of Condé in the yeare 1559. gaue you, when he offered to forget his degree & qualitie of prince to vphold it against you with the point of his sword or speare.

King Francis the second thus dead did for a time choke vp, not their euill willes but their practises: For vnder Charles the 9. although they endeuored to feed in him a marueilous mistrust of his subiectes, yet began the estates at Orleance to taste them so neere, and to go about to make them spue vp the treasures that they had swallowed, that their best way was in hast to folow Tiberius Gracchus one of the plagues of Rome, who perceiuing that the senate were framing of his processe strooke saile quietly, so that they thought it best to ship into Lorraine, and thence into Germany, where they promised the Princes of the Empire to frame thēselues to the confessiō of Ausbourg, which the Card. openly allowed and preached in the towne of Sauerne, shewing the greater testimonie of his conuersion by the rich gifts that he bestowed vpō Brentius the D. of Wittemberges minister, wherein these ij. fugitiues made thēselues like vnto Theramenes slipper which serued for either foote.

But what? the hard fortune of France soone after, called thē againe to the end to goe forward with their game and make an end of the set: yea

it placed them in the chiefeſt degrees, cõtrary to the good example of the ancients, who ſhut vp the gates of honour againſt ſuch as yeelded no accompt of their adminiſtration: vpon which ground Diodetus and Aeſchines formed their complaint againſt Cteſipho, at whoſe inſtance the Athenians had beſtowed a Crowne of gold vpon Demoſthenes, before they called him to accompt of the office that was committed to him for the reparation of the walles of Athens: which did import a blowe and alteration in the lawes, which permitted not thoſe that were accomptable ſo much as to giue any thing to the Gods, neither, as ſayd the Emperour Antoninus, to proceed to any dignitie in the commonwealth. Out of this reuocation as out of Pandoraes boxe, are come the warres, murders, and manſlaughters, wherin they ſo obſtinately ſet themſelues, that in the yeare 1563 they had a ſoppe of the ſame bread, with the coſt of Francis of Lorrains life. Howbeit the happe of this accident brake not the blowe of their purpoſes. For hee left 3 ſonnes in whome after hys death his paſſions liued, and vnder the fauour of their vnckle the Card. they entred the ſame vowe as their father, & haue takẽ the Crowne of France for the butte of their ambition, ſo as of them we may ſay as the Romans did of Silla, *That onely they had changed the tyrant, but were not diſcharged*

Plut. in the liues of the 10 Orators.

Tit. de debit. Ciuit. l. 1. C.

Plut. in Silla.

charged from tyrannie. Alſo for their firſt blowes the ſtudied to feede the warre that was hatched in their fathers and vnckles ambition: and in laps of time, namely in the yeare 1571 the kings fauour reſembling a fayre winde, the firſt of theſe three blinded with his good fortune, and neglecting the meaneſſe of his race, preſumed ſo farre as to aſpire to the marriage of that goodly flower of France, Lady Margaret nowe Queene of Nauarre, which comming to the knowledge of king Charles the ninth, a Prince ielouſe of the honor both of himſelfe and of his bloud, hee cauſed the Lord great Pryor to tell him, that if he pretended to branche ſo high, he would bring him ſo low, that hee ſhould be an example to the poſteritie: yea that if within two monethes he married not ſome other, himſelfe would dagger him with his owne hands. Theſe threates of ſo great a Prince, coold the boyling affections of this Lorraine, who by hys iournies togither with the fauour of his friends ſo well acquited himſelf, that within the tearme to him by the king preſcribed, hee married the widowe of the late Lord Prince of Porcian: as alſo ſince his ſecond brother matched with the widow of the late Lord of Monpeſat, or rather they both married the great goods of theſe two Ladies, thereby to ſet a couler vpon their ſmalneſſe. To enter into the diſcourſe of thoſe tragedies

gedies, which at their instance were played during the raigne of king Charles the ninth, were to refresh a wound which yet bleedeth too freshly: and who can without teares looke vpon our France so tainted in bloud, cruelty, destruction, and disloyaltie? In the ende the Cardinall, whose life full of discretion stunck euen among the Atheistes and Epicures, ascending into Auignon left the Triumuirat of his nephewes, who being formed after his lore, haue no whit belied his actions, not so much as to admit anie companion of court, or not to hate those in whom his maiestie had fixed his affection: The Lord of Ho being gotten farre into the Kinges fauour had a wry looke: but hee so well husbanded his fortune, that they could catch no hold. The Lord of S. Maigrin did they mortally push with their hornes, yea euen vnder the gates of the Louure: But the vicount of Riberac hauing for the deathes of the Lords of Cheuru and Maugiron endurred the kinges indignation, wounded as he was could finde no better sanctuarie then the house of the Guyses, who seemed a sufficiet contrepoise against the kings authoritie. Afterwarde, because the late Monsieur was a troublesome thorne in their foote, they framed a match against him. The bloud of Salcede executed at Paris yet speaketh, and the truth of his deposition appeareth plainely in

these

theſe commotions. What is it not therfore, that as occaſions haue fallen out, they haue not enterpriſed againſt Fraunce? What Prince, what greatnes haue they not endeuored to vndermine. The king himſelfe, of whoſe ſecrets they haue made a traficke, haue they ſold to the Spanyard, as fleſh to the ſhambles, and vnder couered fire ſtill drawing againſt him, they haue put in vre whatſoeuer wicked inuentions their euill angell hath to them preſented, whereby to cauſe their paſſions to beare ſwaye, if not in calme and faire weather, yet during the tempeſt, amongſt the blood, murder, crueltie, deſolation, and deſtruction of this poore eſtate: witneſſe a Ieſuite of Pont-à-Mouſſon in Lorraine, called father Claude Mathew, who neuer did good but in weening to doo euill, confect in wickednes, & one of thoſe ſacred perſons ſpoken of at Rome in this Tribunary law, *He ſhall not bee accounted a manſlear, who by the decree of the people ſhall haue killed a hallowed man*. Witneſſe, I ſay, this reuerend, this ſparke of ſedition, this ſpirit of Sathan, who in two or three of his voyages into Italy & Spayne, hath inuited the Pope, king Philip, and the Sauoyan to the deſtruction of France: and withall you Frenchmen, to the ende to vſe you as vipers againſt our common mother, to make you bath your ſelues in your owne bloud, to change your curteſie into crueltie, your fidelitie

Lex 12. tabul.

into diſloyaltie: to be briefe, of the faire face of Fraunce to make a horrible and fearefull ſpectacle of death, to conuert her body into a graue, her townes into churchyards, her caſtles into broken walles, her fieldes into butcheries, her trees into gibets, her riuers into bloud, her life into pitifull, horrible, and fearefull death: to ſuch purpoſes, I ſay, ſo furious, tragicall, and bloody, do they loud and ſhrill ſound out, that they proceed out of the ſtocke of Charlemaine, and that euer ſince Lothair, our kings haue their tables couered through the vniuſt vſurpation of Capet, & with the expence of their race the lawful inheritour of this crowne. Here doo I deſire all good Frenchmen to marke one practiſe of Tarquine the proud, who determining to rob Seruius Tullius of the kingdome of Rome, began by bewitching the people with the diſcourſe of his race, and by repeating to them, how that after the death of king Tarquine his father wofully murdered, Seruius had ouerthwartly practiſed the ſoueraigntie: ſo that the fathers lulled on ſleepe with his faire words, & the youth ſnared with the preſents wherewith he laid a bridge to to his purpoſes, he ſo far ſlacked the bridle of his ambition, accompanied with raſhnes, that in full ſenate ſeizing vpon Seruius by the body, he caried him out of the chamber, & caſt him downe the ſtaires. A tragicall & pitifull example, ſuch a

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one as might ſtand Fraunce in ſtead for a morning wake, now that it is thus baied at with tempeſts on euery ſide: but particularly the king, whoſe greatnes with like tooles as that wherewith Seruius was ouerthrowne, they now vndermine. And king Clouys vnderſtanding that a Lord of Artoys named Cannacare, puffed vp with wealth, gaue out that he came of Clodio the hairy, & ſo was lawfull heire of the crowne, being not only quicke of hearing, but alſo ielous of his greatnes, cauſed that ſower of lies, & al his progeny to be rooted out. In the meane time, leaſt the people being tickliſh & itching at euery new deuiſe, ſhould ſuffer themſelues to be led away with the perſwaſions of theſe abuſers, I would demaund of you Lorraines, what is the groũd of your pretẽded right? you ſay that Hugh Capet by force carried away the crowne from Charles of Lorraine, vnckle to Lewis the 5. in whõ the race of Charlemain ended, & that you are come of the ſtocke of Charles: If it were ſo, why did you lately make the card. of Burbõ your banner, as he that was fitteſt to ſucceed in this realme? was it not to ſhew that you could not agree but in contrarieties? or rather to imitate the wren, who hearing that the birds made a match who ſhuld be firſt in heauẽ, hid himſelf vnder the eagles wing, trõ whence he crept out in ſo good time, that he gat the title of king? you ſay that

Charles of Lorraine had but one ſonne, named Ottho, and that this Ottho had but a daughter. We haue inough of this one diſtaffe to beat you withall, wee, I ſay, who are freed from the womens gouernment, who ſtoope not vnder the empire of women, through the benefite of the Salike lawe, a lawe that is the onely oracle of France, bought with the price of our auncestors bloud, with the deſtruction of our townes, with the decay of our houſes, and with the loſſe of two wretched battailes Creſſy and Poictiers: a law that preſerueth vs from the dominion of ſtrangers, and that cutteth off all forraine faſhions and kindes of life, which long ſince had filled ours with baſtardy, ſith it is much eaſier to know a fault in nature, then any vnlikelines betweene the Prince and the ſubiect, as ſaide Theodorike king of the Gothes in his writing to the Senate of Rome. But becauſe the enemies of this Realme, and among others our ſelues do reiect this ſo holy, ſacred, and hitherto inuiolable a law, as ſome ſhadow, dreame, or bugbeare, I pray you caſt your view vppon cuſtome time out of mind practiſed in Fraunce, and that which hath no leſſe force then all the lawes in the world, euen by the ſaying of the Lawyers, *Thinges brought in by auncient cuſtome doo ſeeme more iuſt then thoſe that are commaunded by lawes.* Childebert left two daughters, Cherebert three, Gen-

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tran nine, Lewis Hutin one, who ſucceeded in the Realme of Nauarre, but not of France: Philip the long, three, who neuer quarrelled for the crowne, to the which in proceſſe of time ſucceeded Lewis the 12. who excluded Lady Anne & Lady Ione, the daughters of king Lewis the 11. and ſiſters to Charles the 8. & king Francis the 9. ſet it vpon his head, but not in the right of his wife Queene Claude daughter to king Lewis the 12. Hereto adde that the whole doth ordinarily retaine the nature of his country, ſo that the crowne cannot fall to the diſtaffe, ſith that the propertie of the prouiſions of the yongers of the houſe of France, dooth euer in default in heires males returne to the crowne: and with that condition did Lewis the 8. in February 1223. indue his brother king Philip of Fraunce, Earle of Bologne, and by his will dated in Iune 1525. left Artois to his ſecond ſonne, Aniow and Maine to the third, Poictou and Auuergne to the fourth, with condition, for default of heyres males to returne to the crowne. The like did S. Lewis in March 1268. with the Countie of Valois to his fifth ſonne Iohn of France, alſo Philip the faire in December 1311. to Philip the long his ſecond ſonne, after whoſe deceaſe without heires male, his daughter Ione of France wife to Eudo the 4. D. of Burgondy, inſtantly challenging the poſſeſſory endowment of her father a-

againſt Charles the 4. was ouerthrowne by decree of Parliament dated the 22. of February 1322. This cuſtome beeing of it ſelfe ſtrong inough, is accompanied with a deciſion of the law. *If the Intruders ſucceſſors doo for the ſpace of one hundred yeares holde the ſouereigntie, in ſuch caſe the preſcription of ſo long yeares may ſerue for a title:* namely, if there be no oppoſition or proteſtation of the ſubiects to the contrary, as that of the tribune Aquila, who tooke away the crowne that had beene ſet vpon Cæſars image: ſo as the ſucceſſors of Hugh Capet hauing bin maiſters of this crowne euer ſince the yeare 997. haue too important an exception againſt theſe Carlingues. But vtterly to ſhut vp their mouthes, we doo in truth ſay, that our kinges are of the bloud of Charlemaine, whoſe race hauing fayled in ſeuen generations after Capet, was renued in the perſon of king Lewis the 8. For Philip Auguſt, or *Giuen of God*, in the yeare 1180. at Bapaulines marryed Iſabell the daughter of Baldwin the 4. of that name, Earle of Henault, who was deſcended of Hermengarde Counteſſe of Namure, & daughter to Charles the ſimple, from whoſe ſucceſſors Hugh Capet tooke the right of the crowne: of which marriage of king Philip and Lady Iſabell, was borne the 6. of September 1587. king Lewis the 8. father to S. Lewis, out of whom as out of

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a nurſery of plants, are iſſued the noble families of Valois and Bourbon. Yea I will ſay more, namely, that the Guyſes cannot be of the branches of Charles of Lorraine, the brother of Lothair the 33. king of France, & vnckle to Lewis the 5. neither conſequently of Charlemaine: for it is but 120. yeares ſince the race of Vaudemõt tooke lande in the houſe of Lorraine, which in leſſe then 460. yeares hath fallen in ſeuen ſeuerall families, namely, from the houſe of Charlemaine into the houſe of Ardenne 1005. frõ the houſe of Arden into the houſe of Bologne 1089. frõ the houſe of Bologne into the houſe of Lembourg, from the houſe of Lembourg into the houſe of Louuain 1106. Thẽ in tract of time René K. of Sicile, ſonne to Lewis of Aniou, maryed the heire of Lorraine, by whom he left a ſon named Iohn, & a daughter named Yolande, who was wife to Fredericke of Vaudemont, & afterward in 1464. inherited the duchie of Lorraine, through the deceaſe of her nephew Nicholas her brother Iohns onely ſon: hereby we plainly may ſee that theſe men are like Eſops crow, who diſguiſed her ſelfe with many other fowles feathers, ſuppoſing, that proceſſe of time might ſerue for a vaile to cloke their falſhood: but it falleth out clean contrary, for truth is the daughter of time. Then perſuading thẽſelues that their Ieſuit (a fit embaſſador for ſuch potentates) had remoued both heauen & earth, as well in Italy as

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in Spaine, and that the brute of their false discent had brought such effects correspondent to their desires: that the nobilitie had liked to lend them a shoulder, and the people had bene wholy bent to their passions, they brake the impostume: and to the end to free themselues from quietuesse, which was noysome vnto them, and to stiffle vp all peace which could no whit delight them, euē as an infected stomacke that can relliſh no good food, they did of late put in practise that game which their predecessors had kept close and sealed vp, and so began to play at thrust out with the king. True it is, that for feare of going barefoot in so thorny a way, they haue disguised their ambition with many faire pretences, and to colour their warres they haue propounded.

1. The rooting out of heresie. 2. The nomination of a Catholike successour to the crowne. 3. The reestablishing of the church in her auncient liberties. 4. The reintegration of the nobility into their former dignity. 5. The abasing of certaine persons whom the king hath exalted. 6. The disburdening of the third estate.

Propositions which in outward apparance are good, but bad in effect; sweet to heare of, but of bitter tast; wholesome without, but heauy within. For the two first are forged against the king of Nauarre and the Prince of Condé: the rest haue no other end but to yeeld the king odious to the clergie,

clergie, hated of the nobilitie, and to pull vpon him the malice of the people. This is the redieſt way that they can finde to preuent the greatneſſe of the king, and of the two chiefe princes of the lillie, and to make that agreement with vs, wherof Demoſthenes warneth the Athenians by the ſheepe and the wolues, that willed the ſheepe if they would haue any peace with them to deliuer into their hands all the maſtifes that kept them. Of the reſt of the Princes, they weene to haue a great peny-worth, which all will prooue but duſt before the Eaſt winde, and ſnow before the ſame. At the fame of theſe propoſitions, as trumpets that giue warning of warres, manie tooke part with their weapons, & turned thẽſelues to the fortune of theſe deceiuers, abandoning an aſſured peace, to the end to follow a doubtfull warre: ſome being wonne with hope of amending their eſtate: others hauing alreadie followed the warres, and liued according as the libertie of the time and impunitie had ſuffered them, ſeeing that peace tooke from them all meanes of ſpoile. Some that had miſerablie conſumed al their goods, and were ſtill brauled at by their creditors, and as Cicero ſaide of Catelines confederates, *Thoſe whoſe handes were died in blood, their tongues formed to lyes, their ſoules bent to all wickedneſſe, their conſciences corrupt with ſundrie miſdeedes, ſuch as vndermined by pouertie, were aſſalted by iuſtice:* Such outcaſtes (I ſay) did willinglie lend their hands to theſe noueltie: and yet is it a ſtrange matter that ſome Gentlemen durſt ſuffer themſelues to be led at theſe mens pleaſure, as if they coulde not but ſay well, Cic. in Catelinariis.

neither themſelues do well but in obeying of them: A pitifull caſe, that they ſhould take the ſhadow for the ſubſtance, ſmoke for fire, the vilage and lies, for truth, without conſidering that theſe pretences are but ſo manie ſnares to entrappe them, that they do wake them but to bring them on ſleepe, that they inſtruct them but to deſtroy them, and that as an ancient man hath ſaid, *There can bee no iuſt cauſe to fight againſt their countrie.* But who could chooſe but bee bewitched with ſo many faire pretences? Beſides that theſe fire brands haue left no meanes vnprooued for the continuance of the traficke of their drifts. Furthermore, to the ende to keepe their confederates in breath, and courage, and to make others willing to take their parts, they promiſed vs mountaines and maruels, as knowing that oftentimes things fained, yet taken for true, are of great force in warres, as Marcus Portius, when the Ilergetes ſolicited him for ſuccour: The earth ſhould tremble vnder their power: the Spaniſh weapons did alreadie rattle vpon the frontiers: The Sauoyan did but aſke *Where is it?* The Pope calleth forth the diuels, giueth them the enimies bodies, they carrie them away, they caſt them in hell: The Albanians with their Iauelings, ſhould come to beate downe the mountaines, and to put all to fire and ſword: And as the Conſull Varo ſaid of Hanniball, *Theſe Guiſians ſhould ende the warres euen the firſt day that they ſhoulde ſee the Proteſtants*, calling to minde the fooliſh enterpriſe, though not the weake ſucceſſe of La Broſſe, who in the yeare of our Lorde, 1559. being by their Father and Onckle, ſent with

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the Biſhoppe of Amiens into Scotland, promiſed in one moneth to driue al the Lutherans out of the lande: But the Scottiſh nobilitie more ielous of their liberties then wee, ſhewed him that he reckoned without his hoſte: and that he ought not to ſell the Beares skinne before he ſee him, eſpecially conſidering that as that noble Lacedemonian captaine Braſidas ſaide, *There is not ſo ſmall a beaſt, but is able to ſaue his life, if his heart woulde ſerue him to defende himſelfe*: and the Conſull Paulus Æmilius maruelled howe anie Captaine could aforehand tell what was to bee done in the battell, before he had ſeene either his owne armie, or his enimies: either ſituation of the place, or nature of the ſoile: for his part he would take no other counſaile before the time, then ſuch as the occaſions did vſuallie miniſter to man, and not man to occaſions. And indeede theſe Lorrains doo reſemble that great mountaine, which after manie pangs of childbirth brought forth but a mouſe. Beſides, what promiſe haue they performed? Of the Wiſigothes that ſhould come and fall vppon vs, we haue no newes, they be ſo manie bugbeares: for beſides that King Philip hath but few men, and too manie matters in hande, hee is too olde to take counſaile of the young: although through a deſire that hee hath to ſtrike a ſtroke, and make ſome alteration in the peace of France, and being allured by ſome hope to obtaine Marſeiles as a firſt diſh to his table, he furniſheth thē of a few crownes, which they wil receiue without waying, to warme their kitchē withal: & God wot, whether the poore man whō they made

Plut. in the notable ſaiings of kings.

Liuius. li. 2. Dec. 3.

twiſe or thriſe to trot into Spaine, who ſo liuelie proſecuted their affaires, that he fel ſicke al Barbaſt, was any thing ſlacke in opening the mouth of his pouch more thirſtie then an aduocates. Of the Sauoyan what can they hope? He is ſo neere the beare, that his beſt way will be to ſet ſure footing and haue a good eye to his owne countrie. From the Pope they can haue nothing but Bulles, wherewith they can not runne far, leaſt the diuels whome hee will ſende abroad to entrap the proteſtants, ſhould light vpon theſe Guyſians. What doo they then lacke, more then Gods vengeance to oppreſſe them, a tormented conſcience, and a blinde rage? For beſides that there be two hundred families in France, which will not yeeld one iot to that of Guyze, the moſt part alredie of thoſe whom they promiſed to aduance to honors, doo imitate Liſander, who woulde not receiue the rich and ſumptuous robes which Denis the tyrant ſent his daughters, ſaying, that ſuch gay garments woulde make them ſeeme more foule. Manie of thoſe that ſuffered themſelues to bee carried vppon the wings of their good fortune, doo alredie make no farther account of their proſperitie, which is tied togither with pointes, as a Lacedemonian ſayde of Lampis a Burgeſſe of Egina. All good Frenchmen whom they called to their partie, in tickling them with faire promiſes, haue made anſwere that they will not holde ſo much as their liues of the murderers of their countrie, as a certaine Preneſtine ſaide to the Dictator Silla, who had put all the Preneſtines to the ſword, ſauing him, becauſe he had beene his hoſt. Yea many of thoſe

Plut. in the notable ſaiings of old kings.

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into whoſe handes they haue euen thruſt weapons, do with Pompeyes ſouldiers ſay, that they wil fight againſt the enemies, but not againſt their fellowe countrie-men: of whom thoſe that haue better regard of common health and priuate commoditie, do with their eares and valiancie fauor that noble and valiant Prince Henrie, king of Nauarre, leaſt they ſhould reſemble the Argonautes, who after they had forſaken Hercules, were forced to haue recourſe to a woman: So that although a firſt bluſh and opinion, and at the firſt puſh, the weapons of the Guyzes did ſomewhat aſtoniſh the common people, which was as it were dazeled in the darkeneſſe of their driftes: yet now it is freed from that feare, & perceiueth that their threats are no ſpeares, that they haue embarked thēſelues without either rudder or biſcuit, and that their falſe winges that prognoſticated ſo high & long a fight, will lead thē to the like end as Icarus. And indeede ye Guizards, the waies of your purpoſes are ſo ſurely ſhut vp, that ſhortly you ſhall feele the ſaying of Iob: *Thoſe that plow iniquitie and ſow malice ſhall reape the ſame.* Your pride hath kindled the torch of diuiſiō in the bowels of France, and you ſhall proue the ſaying of Salomon true, *Pride goeth before deſtruction, and highneſſe of minde before deſolation.* You haue lift vp your noſe againſt the king, and ſhall taſt of the wiſe mans ſaying: *The wrath of the king is as the raging of the Lion, and hee that diſpleaſeth him, ſinneth againſt his owne ſoule.* You haue gone about to bring a whole ſtorme of miſchiefe vpon the king of Nauar, and the prince of Conde, and ſhall ſhortly, to your coſtes, learne this

Cæſar. lib. 3 de bell. ciuil.

Iob. 4.

Prou. 16.

Pro. 1. & 20

Pro. 26. this Prouerbe of Salomon: *He that casteth a stone at an other, it will light vpon him selfe.* You shall learne that you haue hasted to outrunne your shadowe, and that against them you haue doone no more than he, who vndertaking to slay Prometheus the Thessalian, thrust the sworde into his impostume, which he pearced and so saued his life. And for the conclusion of this tragedie, you shall sooner be destroyed then fought withall, and sooner fought withall, then assaulted: for they bee no pettie wretches like your selues ye Guizardes: they be Princes, yea the chiefe Princes of the lilly, noble by birth, rich in amitie, husbandes of time, resolute in all pointes of honour, gentle and gracious in peace, two thunderboultes in warre, such as vse not vialles in steede of trompets, a daunsing hall, for a fighting fielde: or gentlewomen in liew of couragious souldiers: who neuer aske howe many the enemies be, but where they be: who were not Captaines before they were souldiers, but souldiers vnder themselues the Captaines: to be briefe, who are such as the Egyptians pictured their great Mercury by a double Idoll of both an olde and a young man, thereby shewing that a Prince must be both valiant and wise: and yet O Frenchmen, they goe about to defeate you of these two pearles of Europe, of these two eyes of your body, of these two lilly flowers: but vnder what pretences? These Leaguers do see that these two Princes, and many other Lordes which doo stoppe the course of their enterprises doo liue in the same doctrine wherein they were first suckled vp: to the ende therefore to

Plut. of taking profite of enimies.

sende

ſende diſcorde poaſt through out all partes of the realme, and to aduance their ambition vnder the viſarde of common wealth, what doo theſe ſtrangers? They propound vnto vs the rooting out of hereſie: they arme themſelues with the beautifull titles of Protectors of Saint Peter, and pillers of the Church: but it is not enough to haue the bare name, but to haue it lawfully. In France therefore of a priuate authoritie to take vpon them the protection of Chriſtianitie, is it not as much as to encroch vppon the rightes of the moſt Chriſtian king? Is it a lawefull vocation to be a title? Neyther is it enough that the will be good, vnleſſe the meanes alſo to bring it to paſſe bee good: otherwiſe, as an ancient man ſayde, *It is better to ſtay the execution of a good thing, then to execute it amiſſe:* yea it is not poſſible (ſayth Saint Auſten) for the counſaile to be good, when the means are nought: at the leaſt, that which is to be commended in the cauſe, is to be reprooued in the effect. Saule was deſirous to knowe the iſſue of his warre with the Philiſtians: this deſire of it ſelfe was not to be miſliked; but the vnlawefull meanes that he vſed, made it to ſtinke. Theſe Lorraines, theſe great bucklers of the faith, would cut vp the roote of Hereſie, this will is not badde, but what meanes doo they vſe? The moſt Chriſtian king hauing tryed all induſtrie, all force, yea euen to the abandoning of his life, to the hazarde of battayles, for the cutting off the exerciſe of all religions, except the Catholike Romaine, in the end perceiuing that the reſtoring of the Church is a worke belonging to God

The Guiſians firſt pretence,

and

and not to man, did imitate the good Phiſician, who hauing vſed all ſharpe remedies, and profiting nothing, hath recourſe to the gentle: and to the end to ſet his eſtate free from thoſe miſeries wherewith it was oppreſſed, quenched the ciuill broyles with an edict of pacification, not forcibly wreſted from him, but grounded vpon the onely conſideration of cõmon commoditie, and vpholden by the ſolemne oth of his Maieſtie, the Queene his mother, the Princes of his bloud, the chiefe Officers of the crowne, yea euen by the Guizes, and ratified in all his courtes of Parliament. This ſo ſolemne edict, this ſo authenticall lawe ought not to haue bin plucked vp without the like ſolẽnities wherwith it was planted: for as ſaith Vlpian: *There is nothing ſo naturall, as to diſolue a thing with the ſame meanes wherewith it was conioyned.* And yet theſe firebrands, of their own priuate authoritie, haue trode it vnder foote to the great contempt of the king, oppreſſion of the people, and deſtruction of this eſtate, yea contrarie to their owne ſo ſolemne oth. Is it then a good beginning, to roote out hereſies with infringing faith? Muſt we be treacherous to our neighbours, to bee true to God? Doth the true ſpirit of religion counſaile vs to violate publike lawes, to breake oths, and to fill a whole eſtate with murder and bloud? But what colour do not the ſuppoſtes of Satan finde to ſet a countenance vpon their actions? The counſell of Conſtance (ſay they) commandeth vs to keepe no faith with the enemies of the faith: by which decree, Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prague were condemned to death, and the Cardinall S. Iulian, wa-

ſent

ſent as legate into Hungarie, to breake the treatie of peace made with the Turkes. Surely they haue reaſon, as if we ſhould confound two ſeuerall queſtions, the one of lawe, the other of deede: If we muſt breake promiſe with infidels, it is a point of lawe, for the deciſion whereof they alleage the decree of this Councell, the execution of two poore Prieſtes, and the breach of peace with the Turke: as if God had not ſhewed the error of that decree, by the tragicall effectes enſuing: for the bloud of theſe two Doctors (who vnder Sigiſmundes ſafeconduct came to that Coũcel as to a ſchole of ſaluatiõ, the better to learne, if better they might be taught) did ſo cry for vengeance, that Ziſcha a meane Gentleman liſt vp his head againſt many Potentates, a handfull of nouices in matter of warre, againſt many thouſands of old beatẽ ſouldiers: whoſe courage ſurmounted the number. On the other ſide the king of Turkes, being certified of the breach of peace, did put on Sigiſmundes ſpurres ſo neere, that hauing giuen him ſundrie notable checkes, he finally built his great Empire with the ſpoyles of Chriſtendom. And who dooth not in that Councell note rather the cruell furies of Antichriſt, and the bloudie paſſion of Nicholas Abbot of Palerme, principall author of that decree, than a milde inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, and an Apoſtolicall voice? Or what Chriſtian Potentate liked of that reſolution, when Luther was by the Popes Bull denounced an Arch-hereticke, the Emperour Charles the fift in the yeare 1519. gaue him his faith to come to the dyet at Wormes, where Eckius building

vpon the decree of Conſtance, would haue bought his life with the price of the Emperours faith, yea euen at the ſame price as were Iohn Huſſes, and Hieromes of Prague. But there was no Prince but deteſted that bloudie minde, and Luther was ſent ſafe home with a paſport and ſtrong hande. Since that time the Emperour Charles, hauing made a league with the Soldan of Perſia, and king Francis the firſt with the Turke, layed in no better pledges then their owne faith: as alſo Ioſua when the Gabaonites had deceiued him, woulde not neuertheleſſe violate the agreement made betweene them, *leaſt* (ſayth he) *the wrath of God that they had ſworne ſhould fall vppon them*. Vpon this ground did Pope Gregory the ninth cut off al thoſe generally frō the Church, that willingly did breake their othes. Theſe examples do ſtande with reaſon, for if it be lawefull to parley with Infidels, it is alſo neceſſarie to keepe promiſe with them: otherwiſe it were the waye to quench all hope of reconciliation: beſides that it is a manifeſt deciſion, *That thoſe among whome there is any communitie of right, might mutually binde them ſelues one to an other*. For this cauſe did the Romaynes alwayes make a conſcience of breaking their faith, with baniſhed perſons, and ſuch as were conuict of anie notable crime, becauſe by the ſaying of the Lawyer Martian. *They doe participate in the right of Nations*. And to whome Triphonius willeth wee ſhoulde reſtore the gage and pledge, in reſpect of the lawe of Nations and of Nature, which ſtretcheth euen vnto theeues, to whom we muſt keepe

Ioſue 9.

L. Sunt quidam f. de pæn.

Bona fides f. depoſ.

keepe promiſe as did Auguſtus to Crocotas, and Dagobert to the Bulgarian robbers that were ſcatered all ouer Fraunce: No leſſe to ſuch as haue betrayed their Countrie, with whome (as a Romaine ſayde) wee may often enter parley, and keepe promiſe inuiolably, as Saluſt noteth in the confederates of Cateline, who by decree of the Senate, were denounced publike enemies. Otherwiſe we muſt promiſe nothing for, infringing our faith, which is the foundation of all agreementes. For this cauſe would not Tiberius heare the Embaſſadours of Tacfarin a Captayne of certaine theeues in Africa: and the Romaine Senate woulde neuer growe to anye accorde with Spartacus, when he had alreadie ouercome them in three pitched fieldes, and was Captaine ouer ſixe thouſande bonde-men. As alſo the Venetians by a decree of theten publiſhed in the yeare 1505. forbad their Gouernours to giue anie ſafe-conduct to the baniſhed men. Now as for vs, we haue not to do with men of ſuch ſort, eyther with ſuch as haue falſified their obedience due to the king. The ſpindle that wee are to reele, is with frenchmen, with whom wee haue communitie of birth, of lawes, of manners and cuſtomes, ſo that beeing ſo ſtraightly bound togither, as well by ciuill lawe, as by nature, and after the example of the ancient Romaines, and other famous Princes the great maſters of Iuſtice, and of publike fayth, wee can not in their reſpect diſpence with ſo religious a bonde as an oath, notwithſtanding the purport of the decree of Conſtance correſpondent

Cic. Philip. 12.

Saluſt. in Coniur. Catelinæ.

ſpondent to this maxime of Liſander: *Wee muſt deceiue children with ſmall bones, and men with cates.* Thus much for the queſtion of lawe. Nowe to that of deede, whether thoſe whome wee terme Proteſtantes, be attainted of Hereſie? Wee call thoſe men Heretikes, who with obſtinate ambition doo depart from the articles of our faith: all theſe articles doo conſiſt in the Apoſtles Creede, whereupon the Proteſtantes doo grounde their beliefe: They doo abandon the way of worldly honours: they walke in the contrarie, euen in the path of perſecution and diſgrace: they will not bring in mans fantaſies to be rules of faith, but they promiſe to amende if they may be better inſtructed: bee they then obſtinate, ambitious, or heretikes? It is to no purpoſe to alleage the Councell of Trent, vnleſſe we prooue it to bee lawefull. The Councell of Millaine conſiſted of almoſt three hundred Biſhops, who in a manner all condemned Athanaſius that mirrour of vertue, that lampe of the Church, of Hereſie: In the ſeconde Epheſine Councell was that holy Biſhoppe Flauian and his adherentes baniſhed, and the doctrine of Eutiches allowed. Will you then call ſuch congregations lawefull councels? or rather the diuelles great daies, the aſſiſtes of Antichriſt, and the generall eſtates of the enemies of the faith. Moreouer, king Francis the firſt, knowing that the Councell of Trent was framed onely for the priuate profite of ſome, and not for the Chriſtian common wealth, proteſted by the mouth of his Ambaſſadour the Abbot of Bellozane, that neyther hee, neyther anye of his realme

Plut. in the notable ſaiings of the Lacedemonians.

Soſomenes lib. 4. ca. 8. Euagrius li. 1. cap. 10.

realme ſhould be bound by the decrees of the ſame counſell. The like did Henrie the ſecond, vppon the ſupport of the authoritie of al his parliaments, who euermore withſtood the decrees wouen at Trent, as being of no force and abuſiue.

But the K. of Nauar hath his more particular exceptions: he is a ſoueraigne K. and one of the auncienteſt, yea the fourth in the degree of the kings of Chriſtẽdome, yet was he not called to this councel, & ſo conſequẽtly there can be nó default in him, for as ſaith Harmogenian. Hee is a contumaxe, who hauing had three ſummons or one peremptorie day doth not appeare: ſo that the ſentences formed againſt him, & thoſe of the religion haue no ground: and as the Emperors Diocleſian, & Maximilian do ſay. *The ſentẽces denounced againſt the abſent that haue not bin lawfully ſummoned, can haue no force in the matter iudged.* Yea in ciuill cauſes, the party abſent is ordinarely reſtored: much rather then in criminal cauſes, cõſidering that as the lawyer Paul ſaith, *We ought to be more enclined to abſolue then to condemne.* For this cauſe would not the Emperor Valerian permit the determining of the proceſſe of the partie abſent, being burdened with treſpaſſes: but that an inuentorie being taken of his goods, he ſhould be ſummoned to purge himſelf of ſuch crimes, as he was charged withall. Theſe circumſtances not obſerued in the Tridentine counſell do make it void, as alſo the proteſtations of our kings, and the parliaments of this realme, take from it al ſtrength & beauty: what reaſons then haue we to conuince theſe proteſtants of hereſie?

L. Cõtumacia. F. de re Iudic.

L. Ea quę C. quomodo & quando iud. &c.

L. Diuus F. de in Interreſt.

L. Arrianus F. de act. & oblig. L. I. C. de requie re.

Where they confeſſe not the biſhop of Rome to be vniuerſall, they ſay S. Gregory taught that it was a prophane name, ſacrilegious and a foregoing of Antichriſt, for ſaith he, *if he that is named vniuerſall ſtumbleth, the whole Church falleth.* They doo alſo alledge the 3. Councell of Carthage, wherein it was forbiddē that any ſhuld be called Prince of biſhops. For as for that which wee reade in the Autenticals touching the high Prieſt, they greatly ſuſpect it, and as Duarene noteth, that conſtitution is not to be ſeene in the greek Code. If they walke in darkenes, if they be blind in that miſtery, which we cal the holy ſacramēt of the altar, let vs ſhew thē the light & cōdemne S. Auſtē of hereſie, who againſt Adamantus the diſciple of Manichee, ſaith thus: *theſe three things The blood is water, This is my body, and The ſtone was Chriſt are ſpoken figuratiuely, by ſigne, and by ſignificatiō.* Let vs reiect that which Tertullian writeth againſt Marcion. *Ieſus Chriſt hauing taken bread and broken it to his diſciples, made it his body by ſaying, This is my body,* that is to ſay, *the ſigne of my bodie.* Let vs correct Ambroſe: *Like as in baptiſme thou haſt receiued the ſimilitude of death, euen ſo haſt thou alſo in this ſacrament dronke the ſimilitude of the pretious bloud of Chriſt.*

Where as they bee ſo groſſe that they cannot comprehend purgatorie, let vs prooue vnto them, that the bloud of our Lord is not ſufficient to purge vs from our ſinnes: Let vs plainely ſhewe them the name or doctrine of Purgatorie in the ſcripture, and reiect this place of Chriſoſtome. *When we craue mercie, we do it to the end not to be examined of our ſinne, to the ende not to be dealt with according to the rigor of iuſtice:*

Cap. 16.

Authent. Col. 2. tit. 4.

Duaren de ſac. ſand. Eccleſ. miniſteriis. li. 1. cap. 10.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 12.

Tertu. lib. 4

Amb. lib. de ſacram. Cap. 1.

Chriſoſt. hom. 2. in 50. Pſalm.

ſtice: to the ende all puniſhment may ceaſe, for where there is mercie, there reſteth no farther torture, examination, extremitie or paine.

For eating fleſh in Lent they do it, ſay they, by the permiſſion of Pope Eleutherius: by the authoritie of the Councel of Bracare, holden in the yeare 619. and of the 13. Councel of Tolete, which excommunicateth all ſuch as forbid the eating of fleſh at all times indifferently. Alſo by the example of the holie biſhop of Cyrus Spiridon, who ſaid, *That hee durſt freely eat fleſh in lent, becauſe he was a Chriſtian.* In that they adorne not their temples with ſundrie pictures and images, It is, ſay they, becauſe Athanaſius thus crieth out againſt the Gentiles. *Whie come yee not to the knowledge of God by the true creatures, rather then by ſhadowes and remembrances?* It is becauſe they credite the ſaying of Lactance Firmian: *That God, whoſe ſpirite and power is diſperſed al ouer, can not bee abſent, and therefore that the image is ſuperfluous:* It is becauſe they be tyed to this place of Auguſtine. *The firſt bringers in of Images, tooke the feare of God out of the world, and augmented error.* If their miniſters marry, they do it becauſe we ſay that marriage is a ſacrament, and the miniſters of the church ought to participate in euery ſacrament: they doo it becauſe S. Ambroſe ſaith, *Let no man be reſtrained, leſt while we forbid him a thing lawfull, he falleth to vnlawfull:* They do it, becauſe in Euſeb. they find that S. Peter & Philip were married: They do it, becauſe S. Auſtē ſaith, *That he dare not prefer S. Iohns virginity before Abrahams marriage.* They do it becauſe Pope Pius ſaid, *that for good cauſe they had takē mariage from Prieſts,*

Diſt. 30. ca. 51. quis.

Hiſt. Tripart. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Lact. lib. 2. Inſtit. ca. 1.

Auguſt. de Cuit. lib. 4. cap. 9. & 13

Euſeb. li. 3. cap. 27.

Aug. tract. de Nupt. cap. 21.

prieſtes, but for greater cauſe they ought to reſtore it: They doo it leaſt men ſhould haue occaſion, with Pope Alexander to ſay. *That God hath taken awaie ſonnes from Prieſts, but the diuell hath giuen them Nephewes.*

Platina de vitis pontificum.

As for other points in controuerſie, if we deepely and fully conſider of them, we ſhall finde that they conſiſt rather in outward ceremonies of the church then in ſubſtance of doctrine, which is not cauſe ſufficient to denounce them heretikes: for hereſie hath relation to the ſubſtantiall points of faith, not to the outward ceremonies. But howſoeuer it be, by the order of the common and ancient decrees, they cānot be accounted heretikes before they haue bin admoniſhed by ſundrie ſynodes & iudged by a councell: whereupon Pope Gregorie the ſeuenth, writeth to the Princes of Germanie concerning the excōmunication of the Emperor Henry the fourth: thus: *We haue ſought to bring him to repentance, but to our faire ſongs he hath lent the adders eare.* Alſo Pope Innocent the third, ſpeaking of heretikes, ſaith, *If a biſhop with his chapter haue condemned any man of hereſie, let him be accurſed.* He muſt therfore be iudged before he be condemned, and heard before he bee iudged: otherwiſe the Lawyer Marcellus ſheweth that the partie abſent is to bee reſtored againſt the ſentence pronounced in the preiudice of his reaſons not alledged. Likewiſe the Emperor Cōſtātine for the cutting off of the hereſie of Arrius a prieſt of Alexandria, called the firſt councell of Nice, where he gaue day of aſſignation to the Arrians: Martian for aboliſhing the error of Eutiches called the

Abbas vſperg. in Hen. 4.

L. Diuus. F. de in Integ. reſtit.

Soſomenes lib. 1. ca. 16.

Euag. lib. 2. cap. 2.

the fourth councell at Calcedon. Theodosius the 2. assembled the 3. at Ephesus against the heresie of Nestorius. Gratian and Theodose Emperors, for rooting out the doctrine of Macedonius, called the second at Constantinople. And yet do we binde the Popes to mount Caucasus, we make them to turne Ixions wheele, & roule Sisiphus stone, when we call for a councell: so that the K. of the Romains, and K. Lewis the 12. in the yeare 1510. could obtaine none at the hands of Pope Iulius the 2. Also when Charles the 5. being at Bologne, by his Chancelor ptopounded a generall assembly of all Christian Bishops, Pope Clement answered him in bitter words, that it needed not, sith that all nẽw opinions were condemned by the ancient councels: aswel might he haue said that the ancient coũcels were superfluous, considering that the holy Ghost in his word cõdemneth all heresies. But the chiefe purpose of councels tendeth to call heretikes to repentance, & to pray to God in thẽ to fulfil the prophecie of Ezechiell: *I will giue them a new hart to walke in my cõmandements.* As it fell out in the time of the emperor Theodosius, who by meanes of a councel that he gathered togither at Constantinople, reduced to the knowledge of the truth an infinite number whõ the heresies of Arrius, Nouatus & Macedonius had seduced. It is not therfore inough to say that the ancient coũcels cõdemn heresies, but we must haue new, to conuert heretikes: otherwise, as saith S. August. *He erreth in faith, that calleth not heretikes frõ error.* So we find in the decrees that the ancients celebrated the councels from 5. yeares to 5. & frõ 10. yeres to 10. since the vniuersall

Euag. lib. 1 cap. 3. & 4.

Ezech. 11.

Aug. de fide catholica.

trowne of Baſill. Neither is it ſufficient to hold one councell for the reclaiming of heretikes to the vnion of the church, but for ſo godly a woorke they ſhould not ſpare for two or three. Saint Ambroſe was not content that the Arrians had ſundry times beene conuict of hereſie: but that ſeeing them ſpring vp againe in France and Italy, in an aſſembly of Biſhops at Aquilee, hee diſputed againſt Palladinus, who was infected with the ſame hereſie. And that wiſe Emperour Theodoſius, notwithſtanding the Nicene councell, wherein the Arrians, Nouatians, and Macedonians had beene condemned, cauſed them to bee called to the generall aſſembly at Conſtantinople. According to theſe examples we cannot find any ſpeedier way to preuent the pretended hereſie of the Proteſtants, then by calling a councel: they craue it, let them haue it: they would lay downe their reaſons, let them be heard: they would learne, let them be taught: they ſeeke light, let them haue it: yea, if they ſtand in doubt, let them be aſſured: if they be not aſſured, let vs goe to them, let vs diſpute, let vs endeuour to take away the cauſes of their diuiſion. Hereof are we not without examples, for when the Donatiſts infected Africa with their wicked doctrine, and that they practiſed all kinds of crueltie againſt the Catholikes, a great number of Chriſtian Biſhops aſſembled togither, and beſought them to grant them time and place to diſpute, and through a frendly conference to root out their diuiſion: then if the Proteſtants, beeing vrged to agreement, doo nouriſh debate: if they ſhut their eyes againſt the light, then let the church vſe her authoritie and power:

wer: but if our ſelues in lieu of inſtructing doo deſtroy: if in lieu of mitigating we doo make more eager: if for health we miniſter death: if in the chayre of iuſtice, clemencie, and truth, we preach murder, bloud, and ſlaughters, are not our ſelues the fire-boxes of ſedition, the trumpets of Sathan, the ſoldiours of Antichriſt, and the enemies of the Catholike church? And yet theſe firebrands, without other order of law, would haue vs to condemne the Proteſtants for heretikes, and euen at the firſt to begin againſt them with treaſon, diſloyaltie, and periury: and of the father of Fraunce they ſeeke to make an executioner of Frenchmen: of our moſt mercifull king, a bloody tyrant, a Phalaris, a Buſiris, who ſhould be blind at the teares, deafe at the lamentations, and inexorable at the moſt humble petitions of his obedient and afflicted ſubiectes. Wherein therefore doo not theſe mad beaſtes reſemble the curſed Bertaire, who poſſeſſing the will of his maiſter king Thierry, diſwaded him from yeelding to the prayers, lamentations, and teares of the poore Frenchmen, who, as men born to beare the blame, or thruſt forward with the calamitie of the time, were baniſhed out of their country? But God, whoſe helpe, as a matter worthie his mercie and our hope, we doo craue, will raiſe vp ſome Pepins againſt theſe infamous Bertaires. In the meane time, ye Frenchmen, let vs awake, and let vs not haue eyes to be blind, or vaines and ſinewes to be filled with lethargy, neither let vs account the bloody murderers of Frenchmen to be partakers of the French church. If not, of neceſſitie, we muſt by armes ſet to the laſt helpe for this

quarrell for religion, who may better then my lords the Princes of the bloud, that yet are not departed out of the boſome of the catholike church? who rather then theſe noble & religious children of S. Lewis, whoſe faith neuer came in ſuſpect? who may, I ſay, better then they, take in hande the thunder, the lightening, & the three tined forke, to diſperſe all hereſies? Next to theſe Princes, what ſurer piller, what ſtronger buckler can our church haue, then that wiſe Fabius, that notable Scipio, the L. Marſhal of Montmorency? And yet haue none of theſe bene ſo much as called to this league: for although they be Catholikes, yet be they not good Catholikes after the maner of the leaguers, that is, ambitious, trecherous, cruel & bloody: notwithſtanding they be euen thunderbolts in war, yet are they no good warriers as the world goeth, I meane, enemies to peace, blinded with ambitiõ, ſtarued after goods, thirſty after bloud & void of all humanitie. For whileſt the Pope authoriſeth the Guiſians, & giueth the ſpoile of the K. of Nauarre & Prince of Condies goodes, he practiſeth not the cõmandement of Ieſus Chriſt: *Goe forth and preach, the kingdome of God is at hand.* It is an other leſſon then S. Paule teacheth, ſaying: *The armors of our warfare are not carnall, but mightie in the Lord, to bring all knowledge to the obedience of Chriſt.* He followeth not S. Hieromes precepts, *Let the biſhops be miniſters, not maiſters: for truth cannot be ioyned with force. The perſecuted do follow Chriſt, the perſecuter Antichriſt.* He is deafe to heare the doctrine of Lactance: *Religion muſt be defẽded, not by ſlaying, but by offering to be ſlaine, not by cruelitie, but by curteſie, not by wickedneſſe, but by faith.*

Math. 10.

1. Cor. 10.

Hier. ad nepotem.

Lactance inſtit. lib. 5. cap. 20.

faith. He giueth place to the complaints of Hilary: *What meaneth this* (saith he) *that the Priests by prisons are forced to feare God? that the people beeing bound are committed to warde among the chayned? and the Virgins stripped naked to suffer paine?* Finally, he taketh an other course then God teacheth in the 3. of Ieremy, speaking vnto him: *Hast thou not seene that this rebell Israel hath done? she hath gone a whoring into euery high mountaine, & into euery greene tree: Go therefore & cry out these words toward the North, Returne Israell, thou disobedient, and I will not let my wrath fall vppon thee.* He willeth not to robbe, to spoile and sacke, to fill all with murder and bloud, as the Pope doth, yea euen in matter where there is but preuention, not sentence: but accusation, not proofe. To alledge that the King of Nauarre and Prince of Condé, in the yeare 1572. being brought home into the bosome of our church, do seeme in ther letters to the Pope, dated at Paris the third of October, to confesse that before they had bene detained in the snare of error, is as much as to be blind in the circumstances of the time and place: they were at Paris amongst their enemies, who barked at their liues, and were dyed red in the bloud of their seruants, yea euen in the time that the Frenchman was the cruell butcher & bloody murderer of Frenchmen: that the father cut his sons throat, that the mother slew the daughter, that the brother dispatched the sister, one neighbour killed another, cruelty triumphed ouer clemencie, and rage ouer pitie: who then at such a time with a trembling hand would not haue written whatsoeuer his enemies had endited? But in such cases

Hilar. epist. ad Const.

the lawes of the Emperors, and edicts of the auncient Pretors doo declare all ſuch actions none, as if they had not beene: for that is not called conſent that we force him to doo that is depriued of his power: for this cauſe doth Pope Alexander the 3. will thoſe mē, that for feare of death are become Monks to caſt their weed into the nettles, & to marry. And Paſcall the 2. hauing beene forced the right of inueſtiture of benefices to the Emperour Hen. the 5. called a councell at Lateran, where he made voide all that by force he had bene compelled to doo. Likewiſe, the dooings of Silla were denounced to be tyranny, becauſe that he hauing a mighty army within the walles of Rome, eſtabliſhed himſelfe Dictator, as alſo did Cæſar by the law Seruia. So that the king of Nauarre and Prince of Condé may iuſtly diſallow the declaration contained in their letters, ſith that the more force that was vſed, the leſſe will they had. At all aduentures, from whence doth the Pope take this authority to excommunicate the goods. *Kings* (ſaith Chriſt) *haue dominion ouer the nations, but it ſhall not be ſo among you: Feed* (ſaith S. Peter) *the flocke of Chriſt, not as hauing dominion ouer their heritage, but ſo as you may be an example to the flocke.* Iuſtinian alſo writing to Epiphanius, diuideth the miniſterie from the Lordſhip, and in an other place forbiddeth the Prieſts to take vpon them the titles of Lords, but of ſpirituall fathers. Yea Balde, one of the bucklers of the Romiſh Prieſt, exalting his power, is ſtill forced to put in this bridle, *In ſpirituall caſes:* and S. Bernard ſpeaking to Pope Eugenius, ſaith: *It is euident that the Apoſtles are forbidden all Lordſhip: how therefore dareſt*

Cap. 1. ext. de his quæ vi met.

Abbas. Vſperg. in Hen. 5.

Platina de vitis Pont.

Math. 20.

Epiſt. 1. c. 5 Nou. 81.

dareſt thou vſurpe the title of an Apoſtle in playing the Lord, or play the Lord while thou ſitteſt in the Apoſtolike ſea? In olde time alſo the Prieſts iudged of hereſies, but not of the puniſhment of heretikes: which was the reaſon that S. Paule was brought before Feſtus the Emperors Lieutenant: that Conſtantine forebad the Biſhops of Nicomedia from ſhewing any fauor to Euſebius and Theognis: that Honorius appointed the Prouoſt Marcellus to be a iudge for the Catholikes againſt the Donatiſts: and that the Emperors Conſtantine, Gratian, Theodoſius, & Iuſtinian, did ordaine grieuous puniſhments for heretikes. Yea in the olde time ſo farre were the ſacrificers and Prieſts from medling with ſecular iuriſdiction, or incroching vppon the authoritie of kinges, that in whatſoeuer concerned prieſtly diſcipline, they bowed to them: Salomon depoſed Abiathar the high Prieſt, and placed Sadoc in his roome: Ezechias reformed the order of Leuites, and brought them vnto their firſt puritie: Iudas Machabeus depoſed the wicked Prieſts of the law: and Numa, ſaith Liuy, deliuered in writing, and ſigned a note vnto the high Prieſt, with what cattel, vpon what dayes, & in what temples they ſhould offer ſacrifice, & from whence they ſhould haue the money to furniſh ſuch expences. Afterward by the law of the twelue tables the whole depended vpon the wil of the Senate, who by that authoritie in the Conſulſhip of P. Cornelius Lentulus, and M. Bebius Pamphilus, did openly burne the bookes of Numa, as being repugnant to their religion: the like alſo did Conſtantine with the bookes of Arrius: for from time to time the power of

Act. 25.
Theod. lib. 1. cap. 20.
Tit. de heret. c. 1 lib. 1. De ſum. trinit.
L. Placet de ſacro Eccleſ. c.
1. King. 2.
1. Chro. 29
1. Macab. 4
Liuius lib. 1. dec. 1.
Niceph. lib. 8. c. 18

of holding councels, and ordering the churches, depended vpon the Emperors, as we may gather by the decrees of Constantine, Gratian and Honorius, written in the first Code of Iustinian, who said, *That he had no lesse care of religion then of his owne life:* and of whom we read 17. constitutions concerning ecclesiasticall discipline. As also our kings vppon the like argument haue builded many goodly decrees, namely Charlemaine, and Charles the 7. who the 13. of Iuly 1438. published the Pragmaticall sanction at Paris: & indeed, as saith Isidore, Emperors and Kings haue the first degree in the Church, whose nurses they are, according as Esay saith chap. 49. which was the cause that in olde time they had the greatest functions in the Church, as commanding of fasts and calling of councels, &c. That Boniface the 1. besought the Emperor Honorius to ordeine that they might lawfully proceed to the election of the Popes of Rome: that Pelagius the 1. swate in the hands of Ruffin, Childebert K. of France his embassador: that Leo the 4. protested obedience vnto the lawes of Lothair, and that Gregory entituleth himselfe the vnworthy seruant of Maurice.

But since the Popes gat a tast of worldly affaires, they haue endeuored to satisfie themselues at the costes of the authoritie of Kinges and Emperours, whom, notwithstanding that according to S. Paule, euery soule ought to bee subiect to them, they haue gone about to bring in subiection to the crosse of Rome, whereto their enterprises haue had so good successe, that they haue made the kings of England, Arragon, Naples, Sicill, Ierusalem, Poland, Sardinia, Corsica,

Corsica, and the Canaries tributaries to the Pope: wherupon the Clergie themselues, considering that they had girded too far into temporall iurisdiction, & that oftētimes their ambitiō opened the gate into sundrie schismes, were forced to bridle them, and the Emperors to restraine their insolencies, as the Patricians were wont to doo at Rome, who, as witnesseth Liuie, *Thought good that the Salians and Flamines, should without farther power and authoritie tende to their sacrifices onelie.* Thus in the yeare 1046. the christiā bishops seing the wound which the church receiued through the ambition of Benet the ninth, Siluester the 3. and Gregory the sixt, Antipopes, did canonically depose thē al in a sinode holdē at Rome, being supported with the authoritie of the Emperor Henry the third. Afterward anno 1076. a councell was holden at Wormes, wherein with the consent of all the Germaine Bishoppes, except the Saxons, Gregorie the seuenth, called Hildebrand, was excōmunicated as one that brethed nothing but tyranny, as appeareth by a letter which the councel wrot vnto him in these termes: *Because thou thorough disloialtie and periurie hast opened the gate of honor: that the Church of God being tormented with thy newe inuentions, as with a vehement storme, fleeteth in danger: and that thy life is tainted with manie villanies: wee shake off the yoke of obedience, that hitherto we haue lent thee, and as openly thou giuest out that thou accountest none of vs to be bishops, so doo not we take thee to be Apostolicall.* Besides this Councell, the Emperor Henrie the fourth, summoned another at Bresse, anno 1080. wherein Gregorie the seuenth, was againe deposed

Liui. lib. 4.

Abb. Vrsp. in Hen. 3.

Abb. Vrsperg. in Hen. 4.

and Wigibert Archbishop of Rauenna, substituted in his place: The same Emperor also anno *1083.* tooke Rome, and Gregorie fledde to Salerne, where hee died. Shortly after, namely, anno *1111.* the Emperor Henrie the fift, seeing that Pope Pascall the second sought to intrude vpon the ancient rightes of the Empire, concerning the inuestiture and collation of benefices, kept him prisoner vntill he had by declaration confessed that hee had gone farther then hee ought. Also by the aduice of the Germaine bishops, Philip the son of Frederike Barbarossa raised an armie to bridle Pope Innocent the third, who had wrongfullie excommunicated him, and who ordinarely vsed to say, that *either Innocent should plucke the royall diademe from Philip, or Philip the Apostolicall mitre from Innocent.* But in the end all was appeased by the Popes Nephewes marriage with the Emperors daughter. In processe of time, Fredericke the second, to whome the Church was much bound, as wel for raising an army anno *1222.* against the Sarazens in Sicill, Calabria and Pouille, as also for going about the conquest of the holie lande, in anno *1228.* was thrise by Pope Gregorie the ninth, excommunicate, viz. in the yeares *1223. 1237. 1238.* So as he by the counsell of the Germaine Prelates fell vpon Italy, seised vpon Verona, spoiled the territories of Padua: in whose time began the factions of Guelphes and Gibelines. Againe, about the yeare *1323.* Lewes of Bauier, against whome pope Iohn the *22.* had opposed Frederike of Austrich, did by the aduice of the Romaines, elect a new pope called Peter of Cerberie, whom he named Nicholas

Platina in vitis Pontif.

Abb. Vrsp. in Philip.

Abb. Vrsp. in Fred. 2.

Vit. Fred.

las the fift, who immediately created new cardinals, and burned Pope Iohn in picture, in the presence of the Emperor, who moreouer in the yeare *1536.* assembled a dyet at Francfort, wherein by the decree of the Princes of the Empire, Pope Iohns proceedings and excommunications were declared voide and of no force. In the yeare *1415.* Iohn the three and twentith flying from the Councell of Constance, by the helpe of Fredericke Duke of Austrich, and the Arthbishop of Mayence, was by the authoritie of the Councell and of the Emperor Sigismond deposed, togither with Gregorie the twelfe, and Benedict the thirteenth Antipopes: to whom in Nouember *1417.* was Surrogate Ottho, Cardinal of Columna, afterward called Martin the fift. Du Tillet.

These Popish insolencies had no better entertainement in France then in Germanie: for in the yeare *1198.* when this realme was by the Councell of Diion accursed, because the king Philip Augustus, reiecting Engelberge sister to Cain king of Denmarke, had married Anne daughter to the D. of Morauia, the king appealed to his swoords point, and sharpely punished those that were assistant at that Councell: so that the Pope perceiuing that so great a Monarch woulde not bee handled without a snafle, endeuored to appease him, and in the yeare *1201.* called a Councell at Soissons, where by orderly exhortations for bishoppes, the king tooke againe his wife Engelberge. But Philippe the faire proceeded farther: for at that time when Pope Boniface the eight had accursed

the realme, and abandoned the ſame as a pray to the Emperor Albert of Auſtrich, in the preſence of his princes and councell, he cauſed the Bull to be burned, and ſent into Italie Noguarel with an armie, & a decree of ſeizure of bodie, by vertue whereof hee tooke the Pope priſoner. Alſo Lewes the twelfth, whoſe greatneſſe the Prieſt of Rome had often bayed at, but neuer could bite, perceiuing that Iulius the ſecond followed the traine of his predeceſſors inſolẽcies, & that hauing excommunicated him & his ſubiects, hee ſtirred vp the Engliſhmen, Germaines & Spaniards againſt him, did openly by a decree of his Parliament, rent the Bull of introduction, and impriſon the bringers thereof: and then by the aduiſe of the French Biſhops, aſſembled at Tours, about the yeare 1511. did reſolue, by armes to withſtand the Popes tyrannie, who ſince from time to time hath ſtill practiſed ſome miſchiefe againſt France, and as Martin du Bellay in the ſecond booke of his remembrances teſtifieth, Pope Leo hearing that the French-men vnder the conduct of the Lorde of Lautrec, had loſt Millaine, anno 1521. conceiued ſuch ioy thereof, that he died ſuddenlie. *Oh glorious death of one of the Apoſtles ſucceſſors!* O the holy father, who doth not onely delight in the miſchiefe that he committeth, but alſo doth euen bathe himſelfe in that harme that he doth not! Since that this Popiſh ambition hath ouerflowed all Chriſtendome, that the Church is at this preſent vtterlie diſfigured: witneſſe the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Sueden, the ſeculars of the holie Empire, a great part

of

of Poland and Boheme, the chiefe Cantons of the Zwitzers, and many great townes and communalties of Germany that haue played bankerout with the catholike romiſh religion: what thinkeſt thou, O thou Romiſh prieſt, howe goeſt thou to wrecke, and how corrupt is thy life! Is thy holy water now turned to bloud? Haſt thou no other holy water ſtocke thã poore France, rent in peeces with ſo many miſchiefes? Is the knife the holy water ſprinkle? Be the harquebuſhes S. Peters kayes? Is thy courteſie crueltie? and thy peace warre? doſt thou ſlay for to heale? doſt thou ſcatter to gather togither againe? doſt thou prouoke, to appeaſe? and pul down, for to build againe? *My kingdome is not of this world*, ſayth Chriſt, and yet thou wilt lift vp thy croſſe aboue ſcepters, and thy miter ouer diademes. *Nouriſh* (ſayth he) *peace and charitie*, and thou ſendeſt thy bulles poſt abroad to ſowe debate among thoſe that be at one! He ſheweth thee the heauens, but thou beholdeſt the earth: he giueth thee the charge ouer ſoules, but thou wilt maſter the bodie. Thou haſt beene hurt, and yet ſeekeſt to refreſh thy wound. For if any hereſie ſpringeth vp in the worlde, thou ſhouldeſt deale with the mind, not with the goods, neyther ſhouldeſt thou fight with kniues, but with reaſon. If we vſe not to apply to the body the medicines fit for the ſoule, why ſhouldeſt thou apply to the ſoule thoſe that appertaine to the body: like diſeaſe, like medecine: like wound, like oyntment: like occaſion, like remedie. To bodily wounds, belong bodily medicines: and to ſpiritual diſeaſes, ſpirituall remedies. To ſeeke therefore by force to root

out hereſies, is ſo cure the ſoule by the bodie: or rather to ſlay and not to heale: to vexe, not to comfort: by darkeneſſe to ſhewe light, and by crueltie to teach courteſie. If thou wilt not deſtroy, thou muſt vſe inſtruction: to inſtruct, thou muſt ſubuert; to ſubuert, thou muſt conuince, and to conuince reaſon is neceſſarie. Is it reaſon to paſſe to condemnation before proofe? to commit the ſtewes to the reformation of harlots, and the execution of ſentence to the partie adiudged?

To the generall reaſons of this diſcourſe the king of Nau. and prince of Conde do adde particular exceptions. As that by decree of Charles the 6. publiſhed anno. 1369. it was forbidden to excommunicate any towne, communaltie, bodie or colledge of this realme: beſides that by the priuiledges of the lilly the Pope can not excommunicate either the k. or his ſubiectes: ſo that Clement the 5. by his bull made voide the interdiction of Boniface the 8. againſt Philip the faire, & declared this realme exēpt frō the Popes power, & ſo was accounted & adiudged by Alexander the 4. Gregory the 8. 9. 10. 11. Clement the 4. Vrban the 5. & Benedict the 12. Alſo in the yeare 1488. the kings proctor appealed as of abuſe, from the excommunication that the Pope had caſt vpon the inhabitantes of Gaunt, vaſſals to the crowne of France. And the court of Parliament by a decree of the 27. of Iune 1526. and an other of the laſt of Ianuary, 1552. declared the clauſe by the Apoſtolike authoritie, inſerted into the Popes reſcriptes, and ſent into France to be voide and abuſiue. Againe when in March. 1563. the Romiſh

inquisition had cited the Queene of Nauarre personally to appeare before the Pope, within 6. months vnder paine of confiscation of goods, king Charles the 9. thinking that this adiournment touched his honor and the priuiledges of his realme, tolde the Popes Nuntio, that hee would chastise the authors of that enterprise. As in the like case did Lewes the young 1143. deale with Tibault Earle of Champagne, who had procured Raoul Earle of Vermandois, to be censured. Hereun to do I adde with Du Tillet bisho, of Meaux, that wee ought not to suffer a peere to be excommunicate, because we are to be conuersant with him about the kinges counsels, who in case hee had not whereof to liue, ought to finde him. Vpon such reasons, examples and priuiledges, do the king of Nauar, & prince of Conde depende: and as true Frenchmen, make a shield against the enimies of France, who for preparing the way to their ambition with the price of the poore people, do studie to corrupt those goodly priuiledges, vsing the priest of Rome, as the minister of their furie: who being filled with rashnesse haue hatched all the tragedies at this day played in France, yea euen so farre as to seeke to make the king to nominate a successor to the Crownes. In olde time the Dictator Fabius Buteo, endeuouring to bring into order, that which time and necessitie had disordered, sayde that he would not depose out of the Senate anie of those whome the Censors C. Flaminius and L. Æmilius had established. Who can then beleeue that the king woulde deprive from the right of the realme, those that are called

Du Tillet cap. of the Peere.

The Guizians second pretence.

Liuius li. 3. dec. 3.

not

not by the Cenſors, but by the lawe, which is the rule of Cenſure? I meane that grounded lawe of France, by vertue whereof the ſucceſſor is ſeiſed in a manner during his predeceſſors life, and without other inueſtiture, is halfe poſſeſſioner: wherof groweth this prouerbe, *In France the king neuer dieth.* Beſides, to corrupt thoſe lawes whereby hee reigneth after his predeceſſors, euen ſince the beginning of this Monarchie, were as much as to hate himſelfe: for although we liue vnder a ſoueraigne, whoſe handes can not be bound, yet muſt we ſay with L. Valerius againſt the Oppian law. *There be lawes that be inuiolable, in reſpect of the perpetuall profite of the common wealth, and there be others neceſſarie for a time only: thoſe do neuer die, but theſe are mortall according to the diuerſitie of occurrences.* So that theſe thinges thus by nature diſtinguiſhed, we place firſt the laws Royall, and ſuch as concerne the ſtate of the realm, becauſe they be annexed and vnited to the crowne, as is this lawe of ſucceſsion, to the preiudice wherof the king can not elect any other ſucceſſor then whom the ſame doth appoint him, and in this caſe we may ſay that which Pacatius ſaide to the Emperour Theodoſius, *That onely is lawfull for thee to doo, that the lawes do permit*, and no otherwiſe, for diuerſe conſiderations.

Liuius li. 4. dec. 4.

Bartol. in li. prohibere. Planet. quod fiant clam.

Firſt that that is obſerued in part, muſt take place in all. But the kings do holde it for a generall rule, that the publike demaynes are by nature holy, ſacred, and inalienable. For that cauſe was the towne of Zikeleg that Achis gaue to Dauid neuer alienated. And the kinges of Englande, France, Spaine, and

and Polande, do sweare neuer to dismember their demaynes: yea the king of Englande in his treatie with the Pope and Potentates of Italy added this clause: *That they should giue no part of the demaynes of Fraunce, for the deliuerie of king Frances.* The reason is, because the demaines of the Crowne is a publike valuation in respect of the prosperitie thereof, the profite whereof is made priuate and particular to the king that reigneth only so long as he liueth. This caused the Emperour Pertinax to raze his name that was grauen in demainiall inheritances: that Antonine the pitifull would not dwell but vpon his owne inheritance: and that Lewes the 8. chose rather to sell his owne moueables & iewels for the satisfying of his legacies, then to touch the demains: which considering the other rights of the common wealth, can be tearmed but a part thereof: so that if the king can not alienate, much lesse may he passe away his kingdome and subiectes from one stocke to an other.

The second consideration shall be taken of the example of tutors, who as witnesseth Aulus Gellius. lib. 5. cap. 9. could not passe away their pupils into other mens power, neither kinges their subiectes, considering that they are onely tutors to the people, to whose generall benefite their eyes ought to be more open then to their owne particular commodities: and by the saying of an auncient man. Euen as tutorlhippe, so the charge of the common wealth hath more regarde to the profite of the Gouernors then of the gouerned. So that if the king being ledde by euill counsell, transferreth Cicer. lib. 1 Offic.

his realme, the fitteſt to ſucceed may fruſtrate whatſoeuer hath beene done to his preiudice: which was put in practiſe by Charles the 7. againſt Henry the 5 king of France and England, who in reſpect of his marriage with Lady Katherin of France, daughter to Charles the 6. was inueſted in this realme, as appeareth by the agreement made the 21. of May 1420 Moreouer, although in certaine caſes our lawes do permit the father to diſinherite his ſonne, yet doth this permiſsion take no place in our kinges, as being heyres not to them, but to the crowne: for by lawe the heyre is bound to all hereditarie actions, whether actiue or paſſiue, becauſe as ſaith the lawyer Caius, the inheritance repreſenteth the perſon of the deceaſed. And yet we holde that the king is not bound to the priuate agreementes and othes of his predeceſſors: for when Philip the faire, for the cõcluding of the marriage of his eldeſt ſonne Lewes Hutin with Margaret of Burgũdy in February 1299 agreed that in caſe Lewes Hutin deceaſed before he came to the crowne of France, leauing any heyres male, euery younger brother ſhould haue 20000. frankes of rent, the ſayde agreement bound not his ſucceſſor. Likewiſe when Charles the fiſt in October 1374. decreed that his ſeconde ſonne Lewes of Fraunce ſhould haue for his maintenance 12000. frankes of rent with the title of Earle, and 40000. payd him at one payment, this decree bound none but himſelf. Alſo king Lewes the 12. anſwered thoſe that demanded the artilerie that had beene lent to his predeceſſor Charles the 8. that he was not his heire to pay his debtes. And king Frances the 2. in the

L. Non minus ff. de hæred. Inſtit.

the yeare 1559. Ianuarie 19. writthus to the Lords of the league. *Although we be not bound to the payment of our moſt honorable late lorde and fathers debtes, for that we take not this crowne in title of his heyre, but by the lawe and cuſtome generally obſerued in this realme euer ſince the firſt inſtitution thereof, yet wiſhing to diſcharge our ſayde Lorde and fathers conſcience, wee are determined to pay ſo manie as we ſhall finde iuſtly to be dewe, &c.* Thus, ſith the crowne commeth not by fatherly ſucceſſion, but by the lawe of the realme, the king can not take it from him, to whom the lawe giueth it. Furthermore we are in farre better condition, then the franchized Romaines, who by the conſtitution of the Emperors Diocleſian and Maximian might choſe to inherite where it pleaſed thē, and the heyre (as ſayth Pomponius) that was charged to ſet them free might not without their owne conſent diſcharge themſelues by an other: much leſſe then ſhould any againſt our willes, make vs to bow our neckes vnder the power of others then thoſe that are appointed vs by ſucceſſion, which is of greater force then the laſt will of a teſtator. And to ſay that the king of Nauarre by reaſon of his religion can not be ſacred, or receiue the oyle, obſerued according to cuſtom by the Guizians ſaying euer ſince Clouis the 1. & ſo conſequently may not be k. of France, is to go about to make the acceſſarie principall, & of the accident the eſſence: for the ſacring of a king is no part of the eſſence, or elſe they might ſerue for a difference in the definition of a king: & euē as the definition & thing defined ought to haue relatiō, ſo ſhould it follow that he that were

annoynted and ſacred ſhoulde be king, and euerie king ſhould be annoynted and ſacred. Which notwithſtanding throughout the whole line of the Merouingians the Chronicles make no mention of ſacring or oyle. Clouis the firſt, by the teſtimonie of Gregorie of Tours, after his baptiſme, was crowned and carryed about the campe vpon a Target: likewiſe Sigebert in ſteede of Chilpericke that was beſieged at Tournay. And according to Aimoinus, certaine Dukes hauing conſpired againſt the kinges Gontran and Childebert, did at Briue la galliard make Gondeuault their king with like ceremonies which were common to other Nations. For Brinion was made Duke by the Kennemer landes, as ſaith Tacitus: Valentinian the firſt, and Phocas by the Romaine army as ſayth Nicephorus, and Hipatius, as ſaith Caſſiodore. Who then ſeeth not that the enemies pretended reaſons are but folly accompanied with deceipt? Hereto I will adde, that at the requeſt of theſe Guizians, this realme, ſhould be made electiue, alſo beſides the law & reaſons aforeſaide, the cuſtome ſhould be violated: ſith that by the teſtimony of Agathius a greeke writer, who liued in the yeare 400. and of Cedrenius, who liued in the time of Philip the firſt, king of France, the Frankes hauing choſen the beſt forme of common wealth, had no king but by ſucceſsiue lawe. But what ſtone do thoſe men let ly ſtill, that yaune after principalities? The houſe of Bourbon, ſay theſe firebrands, are at this day paſſed the tenth degree of agnation from the Royall houſe, and therefore by the ciuill lawe excluded from ſucceſsion.

Marke

Marke here you French men, how this young Alexander, this beautifull branch of S. Lewes, Henrie K. of Nauar is not alone the marke that the wretched purposes of these strangers aime at, but also all the Princes of the house of Bourbon, generallie are barked at. But in what sort? with some breach still in the realme which holdeth of none but God & the sword. They heere oppose against vs the lawes of the Romaines: and we say they are a bodie without a soule, saying so farre as they take life at the authoritie of our kings, as appeareth by the priuiledges granted to the vniuersitie of Orleance, in the yeare 1312. by Philip the faire, and the decree dated the 15. of Iuly 1351. wherein it was saide that the king might derogat from the Ciuill law: which also Philip of Valois put in practise in the two wils that hee made anno 1347. and in his donation to the Queen anno 1330. the 21. of Nouember. To cut the therefore off short: this realme is not hereditarie, but in the family: and the succession of our kings is not ruled by a written law, but by custome, & her grounded lawes, which doo transport the crowne to the next of the blood royall descending from the male, yea were he in the thousand degree. And yet notwithstanding al these reasons, and nothing considering the saying of Fabius Max. we may oftentimes make right sicke, but kill it we cannot: the Guisians meane to pluck away the crowne from those whom nature hath made kings, yea euen to bring the king to such passe that he must be forced to nominate to them a successor. Although, as saith the wise man, *The height of the heauens, the depth of the earth, and the*

Du Tillet in his collection of the kings of France cap. titres & grand.

Liui. lib. 2. Dec. 3.

Prou. 25. *harts of kings ought not to be ſounded.* The Coũcel alſo of Tolete excommunicateth all thoſe that enquire who ſhall raigne ouer them after him that ruleth the ſcepter: for beſides a vitious curioſitie, we may ſtill ſuſpect ſome practiſe againſt the king. And in deede when in the yeare *1566.* in the Parliament of England, the eſtates ſolicited the Queene to nominate to them a ſucceſſor to her crowne, ſhee anſwered them, that they digged her graue before ſhee were deade: at the leaſt ſhee might ſay that they endeuoured to abaſe her authoritie: for as ſaid Pompee, *Men worſhip the ſunne at her riſing, rather then at her ſetting.* But to what purpoſe is this naming of a ſucceſſor? The Ægyptians ſurnamed all their kings Pyramis, which ſignifieth the ſelfeſame thing, becauſe wee cannot tearme anie thing good in nature that is not proportioned in all parts. Who then dare be ſo bold as to ſay, that our king being a man is none, either that he is vnable to engender? If by nature the time of generation endeth not before 60. yeares, or as ſome ſay before 70. ſhall wee ſay that a luſtie Prince, euen in the flower of his age is paſt hope of iſſue: alſo if, as Seneca ſaith, *Euerie lighte beleefe is a fooliſh document*, whie ſhoulde wee perſwade our ſelues that our king is barren? but let vs proceede to that that goeth yet nearer.

Ariſt. l. 7. Polit.

The Guyſians by vow and profeſſion ancient enimies to the blood royall of France, weening to haue brought his maieſtie to haue a taſt in practiſing the counſaile that Tarquine the proud gaue his ſonne Sextus, which was to ſlay all the chiefe lords of the Gabiens,

Gabiens, and thinking it an eaſie matter to breake an eele with their knee, and to wurry the Princes of the blood, who cannot be ſo much as ſhaken without the totall deſtruction of this eſtate, do by their laſt propoſitions ſtudie to bring al the eſtates of this realme out of taſt with their duetie, whereto nature and the law of God doth bind them, and vnder the kings ſupport to oppreſſe the Princes of the blood, and by the ſubiects reuolt to trippe away the kings legge. This appeareth euidently: for in propounding to reeſtabliſh the Church in her liberties and and ancient priuiledges, ſeeke they not to bring in the clergie to plaie gainſt his maieſtie? The Guyſes third pretence.

Hath the church loſt her prerogatiues? Who but he that hath authority hath taken thē away? or who hath authority but the K. onely? But if, as a certaine Emperor ſaid, we ought not to haue any ſiniſter opinion of our Princes, who ſhal ſay that our king hath willed more then he ought, or that he hath not ruled his power with reaſon? It is, ſaid Plinie to the Emperor Traian, the higheſt degree of happineſſe to be able to do what a man will, and of greatneſſe to will that which a man may. Now this power is not meaſured according to mans affections, but by the foot rule of vertue and lawes. Herein do we know tyrāts from kings, for tyrants will haue their affections ſerue for lawes, and kings haue no other affections but lawes: & yet, as if his maieſty had contrary to all reaſō rauiſhed from the church her ancient liberties, theſe Guyſards wil reſtore them to her againe. But what doo theſe Muſhromes of a nights growth call ancient? In old time according to the decrees of the councell of

of Antioch, and ſince by the ordinances of Charlemaine, the Election of biſhops conſiſted in the approbation of the people, without whoſe aduow, the vniuerſal Councel of Cõſtantinople would not ordaine Neſtorius biſhop: & when Athanaſe declared Peter his ſucceſſor, the people, ſaith Theodoret, did allow him. Yea euen by the decree of Pope Nicholas. The election of Popes made by the Cardinals ought to be ratified by the people. In olde time the Pope was no Prince of Prieſts, neither was preſident in coũcels, where the order of the Hierarchy ought ſtrictly to bee obſerued: In the Councell of Nice, Athanaſius was preſent, In the ſecond of Epheſus, *Dioſcorus Patriarch of Alexandria.* In the fifth of Cõſtantinople, Menas Patriarch of the ſame place: At Carthage, Aurelius Archbiſhop of the towne: and S. Cyprian ſpeaking of the biſhop of Rome, calleth him but brother or companion. In olde time the Guyſards were no bodie, & of late of pettie companions they are growne vp at the coſt of the crucifix: Reſtore things then to their firſt eſtate, and ye make a breach in the Popes authoritie, and the Guyſards muſt loſe their grace: yet do they ſpeake of reeſtabliſhing the Church in her ancient priuiledges! but from whence haue they this authoritie? from their ambition. By what meanes? by ſucking the goods of the Church, not for the aduancement of the clergie, but to ſmooth the way to their pernitious practiſes: like as thoſe factious perſons, Robert Earle of Angiers, and his brother Hugh, who ſeeking to wreſt the ſcepter out of the hands of Charles the ſimple, hyred their men with Church goods. But

Theod. li. 14 cap. 18.

theſe

theſe men will keepe her. O what a good keeper of the ſheepe is the wolfe! How will they keepe her? with armes: as if they might leuie armes without the Princes commandement: who is the diſpenſer of the ſame? Read ouer the lawes, you ſhall finde that the enemies Valens and Valentinian, doo expreſly forbid the rayſing of any banner without their authoritie: Examine the regall lawes, and you ſhal find that it is one point of maieſtie to appoint warre: looke into reaſon, there ſhall you know that the taking of armes which toucheth the commonwealth, ſhould not be practiſed by any particular perſon: peruſe the hiſtories, there ſhall you ſee that the eſtates of the Athenian people denounced warre, as they did againſt the Siracuſians, Megarians, and the kinges of Macedon: you ſhall find that the Æolians forebad the concluding of any thing concerning warre, except *in Panætolio & Pylacio conſilio*: alſo that at Rome it lay in the people to denounce, as they did againſt Mithridates by the lawe Manilia: againſt Philip the ſecond king of Macedon, by the law Sulpitia: againſt the Pirates, by the law Gabinia. And becauſe Cæſar warred in France without the peoples commandement, Cato was of opinion, that the army ſhould bee reuoked, and Cæſar deliuered to the enemies. Yea, the Senate ſeeking to encroch that authoritie vnto themſelues, was ſtill withſtood by the Tribunes. There was (ſaith Liuy) debate touching the reſolution, whether warre ſhould bee denounced by the commaundement of the people, or whether the decrees of the Senate ſhould ſuffice. The Tribunes had the vpper hand: as alſo it fell out when the ſecond

L. vnica. C. vt ar. vſus &c. Taboeth in para. Reg.

Liuius lib. 31.

Plut. in Cat.

Liuy lib. 4.

Punike warre was motioned: also when they were to fight against the Hernicques, Vestins, Palepolitains, Prenestines, & Eques. Likewise when the Tarentines denounced warre to the Romains. *The Senate* (saith Plutarke) *gaue the aduise, and the people of Tarent granted the precepte.* What lawes then, what right, what reason, what examples do authorise, or rather do not condemne the weapons of these perturbers, who of their owne authoritie haue kindeled the fire of an vniust, cruell, and bloody warre? And shall these bee the bucklers of the faith, and pillers of the church? no, but the diuels sergeants, & scourges of Antichrist: for warre, murder, and cruelty are no marks of a Christian, who (as saith Socrates the Scholast. lib. 7. cap. 15. speaking of the murder of Hipatie) ought to haue his handes cleane from bloud. And according to an olde saying, *We must rather debate our right with reasō, then with armes.* Which was the cause, that the Athenians and Mitelenians chose Periander for an arbitrator in their controuersies for a certaine territory: that the Acheans remitted their quarrell with the Argiues to the iudgement of the Mantineans: & that the Romains before they tooke armes against Hannibal, sollicited him to rayse his siege before Sagunt. Yea, in olde time, when necessitie forced them to the taking of armes, it was not doone without southsaying, and for the most part they asked the counsaile of Oracles: so that P. Claudius and L. Iunius being Consuls, they were by the decree of the people condemned, for saying away without southsaying: as was also Gabinius, for leading an army into Ægypt, contrary to the tenour

Plut. in Pyrr.

of

of the Sibils bookes: and shall the murderers of the commonwealth, robbing euen before the magistrates face, be accounted the pillers of the Church? men that haue not put on armour, but to the end to increase their meanesse, to fish in troubled water, to tryumph vpon the Frenchmens reproch, shall they be named the protectors of Saint Peter?

What benefite, my maisters, ye Bishops, doo you looke for of so many mischiefes committed in your fauour? you lende your hande to the seditious: Is that the way to retire from the wicked, least his sinne fall vpon you? Is that your practising of Tertullians counsayle, that it is better to be killed, then to kill: to bee betrayed, then to betray: and to serue for a marke to the wicked, rather then to doo euill? What may the Romaines say vnto you, they that deliuered the Consull Posthumius vnto the heralds, and so returned him bound and fettered vnto the Samnites for making a necessary peace with them, of you, I say, who through passion, rather then reason, doo fauour an vniust warre? For whereof doo you complayne? If you say that sundry gentlemen doo holde Abbyes and Bishoprickes in commandement, or otherwise, wee may aunswere, that aforetime they were giuen in portions: as we finde that Adolph the second sonne vnto Baldwine the second Earle of Flaunders, and Lady Estrilde daughter vnto Elfrede King of England, had for his portion the Countie of Saint Pol, and Abbey of Saint Berthine. Also Robert Earle of Angiers, before the decease of his brother of Eude, holde the Abbyes of S. Germaine in the medowes,

Eccles. 7.

Liuy lib. 9. dec. 1.

S. Crosse and S. Owen. Yea, and our kings, seeing that Abbyes were growne most wealthy, and were reduced in manner to the forme of their warlike fauors, conferred them to their soldiours, who by discretion placed in them a head, whom they tearmed *Deane*, which appeareth to haue bene vsed since the raigne of Charles the balde, vnto the time of K. Robert. If your argument consist vppon the vnfit promotions vnto ecclesiasticall dignities, dooth not the imposition of hands, and consecration rest in your selues? why doo you then giue them to vnwoorthy persons? Besides, there is no apparance to cut off the kings from their right of presentations, because they be the patrons of the churches. Yea, Pope Adrian held a councell, wherein it was decreed, that thence forth Charlemaine should haue the inuestiture of Archbishops and Bishops in their prelacies: besides that, as saith Duarene, The installing of Bishops, by the authority of our kings, is one of the corner stones of this Realme. *For* (saith hee) *who knoweth not the sleights of the Court of Rome, & how much French blood that horsleach sucketh vp?* And the exchange of his lead with our gold is growne to a Prouerbe, as that in Homer of Glaucus and Diomedes. And S. Bernard euen in his time complaineth, that from al parts of the world, the ambitious Simonists, whoremaisters, and incestuous persons ran to Rome to get the honors of the church. If you complaine because of some leuie of coine vpon the clergie, we may tell you that necessitie hath no law: that men are gouerned according to the time, not the time according to the men: and the occurrences are as it were guides

In the olde historie of S. Denis.

Duaren de sac. sanct. eccles. min. lib. 1. cap. 6

Bernard lib. 4. de consider. ad Eug.

to our actions. Wherevpon in the yeare 1171. Lewis the yoong had an aide of the clergie, wherewith to ſend the Earle of Sancerre to the conqueſt of the holy land: Againe, in March 1188. king Philip Auguſt, by the decree of the councell holden at Paris, obtained the tenthes of the church for one whole yeare, which were tearmed Saladins tenths: & with part of the like in the time of Theodorike the ſecõd, Charles Martell rewarded ſuch gentlemen as had borne the brunt of the warre againſt the Saracens. Alſo in the time of Charles the 6. the Earle of Anjou, by permiſſion of Clement the Antipope, leuyed diuers vpon the clergie. Againe, in the yeare 1532. king Francis being moleſted with forraine war, had the helpe of the prelats of his realme. Beſides all which, the clergie cannot exempt themſelues from tribute, becauſe Chriſt paide it: and Ambroſe ſaith, If the Emperour requireth it, we muſt not refuſe it. Valentinian likewiſe writing to the Biſhops of Aſia and Phrigia, ſaith, that good Biſhops are not ſlacke in contributions: yea in ſuch a caſe the Emperour Conſtantine threatneth them with grieuous paines. And in the time of the Macedonian warres, the Romane Senate ſeeing the people oppreſſed, raiſed a tax vpon the Prieſts, notwithſtanding their oppoſitions framed vppon ſuch freedomes as Numa Pompilius had graunted them, from the which they appealed to the Tribunes: who, ſaith Liuy, declared the Prieſtes appeale to come out of ſeaſon, ſo as they exacted of them the taxes of all the yeares that they had not payed: and yet you my maiſters, doo practiſe enterpriſes againſt your king, becauſe that he, forced by

Ambroſe de Baſill trad. Theod. lib. 4. cap. 8.

neceſsitie doth exact of you ſome tribute, and tickleth you, when he might claw you vnto the very bones, by a iuſt reformation grounded vppon the eſtate of the primitiue church. Wake not therefore him that ſleepeth, neither thinke, my maiſters, that thoſe that do ſerue their owne turnes by the warres, as by a ſpoonge wherwith to ſucke vp the ſubſtance of the Church, and haue no other goodes but the wealth of the crucifixe, will prouide any remedy for your pretended ſickneſſe: and to ſay that now they will root out the Proteſtants, is but badly to weigh their actions, and well worſe their power: for are they become Briarees ſince they began to fight vnder our kings authoritie? vndoubtedly there is nothing increaſed in them but folly, and deſire of dominion. At all aduentures, if they be led by the feare of God, and pietie of Catholike religion, why dod they not turne their weapons againſt Iewes, who do ſcatter the accurſed ſeede of their doctrine throughout Europe, in Italy, yea euen in Rome the ſea of that holy Prieſt? If they bee ſo deepe as they ſay in the king of Wiſigothes fauour, why doo they not perſwade him to expell the Moores out of Spaine? If they be kings of Hieruſalem, why goe they not to thruſt out the Turkes? If they be Princes of the Empire, why do they not diſplay their force againſt the Lutherans, but muſt needes come to diſturbe the quietneſſe of Fraunce, wherein they are but ſtraungers? But herein may we ſee our bad deſtinie, that hath brought vs to that paſſe, that wee take our enemies for our frends, periured wretches for faithfull perſons, forreiners for houſhold ſeruantes,

and

and Atheists for religious men: so as we may say, *Ephraim is as a cake on the herth not turned: strangers haue deuoured his force, and hee knoweth it not.* Thus much for the first attaint that they giue the king: let vs proceed to the rest.

Their bad Angell, the spirite of discord hath taught them, that there is a great sympathie or resemblance betweene heauen, mans body, and a monarchy: that in each of them them there are two principall things. In heauen, the sunne and the moone. In mans body, the head and the hart. In a monarchy, the king and the nobilitie. That the eclipse of the sunne or moone darkeneth the heauen, the sickenesse of the head or heart disquiet the whole body; and through controuersie betweene the king and his nobilitie, the whole monarchie tendeth vnto destruction. Following therefore this lesson, they seeke to kindle the torch of diuision betweene the king and his nobilitie: for whereat else dooth that fierce desire to encroch vpon certayne gentlemen whom the king hath aduanced, ayme? or whereto tendeth the reintegration of the nobilitie in her former dignitie? It is noueltie: it is a wonder in France, yea it is felony, it is sacrilege, that a subiect should set downe a law and measure to his Prince, that he should bridle his will, that he should limit or straighten the supreme authoritie. It is a spite to nature, that the arme should command the head, that the soule should obey the body, and that reason should stande in awe of the sences. It is the dissolution of all ciuill societie, to make the maister to honour the seruaunt, the regent

The Guysards 4. & 5. pretẽces.

obey

obey his ſcholler, & the magiſtrate yeeld to the paſſions of the people. And what is all this but to ſeeke to make the Prince hate thoſe whom he loueth: cõtemne thoſe whom he eſteemeth: abaſe thoſe whom he aduanceth: and to face him to will that that hee willeth not? and yet is it the thing that the ſeditious nowe ſeeke to put in practiſe: it is one of the marks that their purpoſes doo aime at: it is the way that they take to croſſe the kings power: but vnder what pretence? that men of baſe gold haue receiued open honor, and honorable perſons be forced to lye at ancker. Who complaineth? ſtrangers. What ſtrãgers? ſuch as of petie companions haue by the liberalitie of our kings beene exalted. But admit they were houſhold ſeruants, yea naturall Princes, what of that? If the king holdeth not the crowne of vs, but of God, and the ancient law of this realme, who diuideth honors as he liſteth, why ſhould we preſcribe him a law and meaſure in louing of vs? Kings vſe not to ſubmit themſelues to that diſtributiue iuſtice of the rules of Philoſophie, which meaſureth the reward by the deſert, neither to the forme of the Olimpian iudgement, which had certaine lawes beyond the which they neuer paſſed. Kings are as auditors, Realmes as counting houſes, and ſubiects ſo many coũters, whom we make to be worth ſometime 100. ſometime 1000. and ſometime 10000. Kinges doo reſemble the ſunne, and dignities the moone, which ſometime appeareth great, ſometime ſmall, now in a corner, then in the plaine middeſt, ſometime light, ſometime darke, euen as the ſunne giueth it light: and euen ſo do kings make dignities

high

high or low, great or ſmall, as occaſion falleth out, accordding to the time,& as it pleaſe them: in which caſe the ſubiect ſhould reſemble the Lesbian rule, which bendeth ſome time to one ſide, ſometime to another, euen as it pleaſe the ſoueraigne: and ſo ſhal we haue the ſubiectes obedient to Princes, which the ancients, as Eſchines ſaith, haue pictured vnto vs by the goddeſſe Pitarchie, the wife of Iupiter and mother of felicitie.

I ſay not that the Prince ſhould indifferentlie deuide honors, for the reward of vertue being communicated to the vnworthie, groweth into contempt: as it happened at Athens, when the people ſeeing Hyperbolus fallen, brake the Oſtraciſme: at Rome when Flauius Appius libertine had gotten the office of Aedilis Curulis: and in France when Charles the ſixt, at the ſiege of Bourges made aboue 500. bannerets. But by force, violence and open threat to endeuour to limit the kings will, is it not to ſeeke to ſtay the ſun, or rather to faſten a haulter to hange themſelues? For if the the law do deeme thoſe guiltie of treaſon, that haue vſed the Emperors ſacred anker: If in old time the Romaine Cenſors diſgraded a bourgeſſe for yaning too wide in their preſence: if in reſpect of the magiſtrate it was not lawfull to laugh in the Senate of the Areopagites: and if according to Vlpian, the magiſtrate may lawfullie proceed by amends and ſeiſure vpon body & goods againſt thoſe that raſhly do ſpeake againſt him: what ſhall become of theſe rebels that doo bring the ſubiects out of taſte with their due obedience to the K. that doo kindle the fire of ſedition in his eſtate, that

Plut. in Nicia. Liu. lib. 9. de 1.

Monſtrolet cap. 93.

L. Sacri affatus. cap. de diu. veſc.

arme themſelues againſt his perſon, that ſeiſe vpon his townes, & that do conuent forren Princes to the ſpoile of his realme? And the law Valeria ſaith, that in ſuch caſes we muſt preuent the way of iuſtice by the way of deed. Whereat then ſtayeth it, ye french men, that the lawe is not fulfilled? what letteth vs from imitating that good tribune Aulus Cornelius Coſſus, who in the battel ſpying out Tolumnius the Captaine of the Fidenates, exclaimed ſaying, *Is this*

Liuie lib. 4. dec. 4. *that periured and breaker of alliance? Is this that defiler of the common law of nations?* And wherefore do not we with that valiant Romaine bring to ground with the ſpeares point thoſe traitors, thoſe periured perſons that do breake the law of nations, that doo delight only in our diſpleaſure, and do bring this eſtate into combuſtiō? To ſay that they wil reſtore the nobility to their firſt eminencie, is to couer themſelues with a wet ſacke: for who but their race haue troden vnder foote al reſpect of French nobilitie? who but their father and Oncle cauſed that by edict of the 18. of Auguſt 1559. al donations, ſeſſions, tranſports and alienations giuen to Gentlemen in recompence of their ſeruice were reuoked and made voide? who but thoſe furies made the edict that forbad all bearing of armes, yea euen the nobilitie, and reuoked all particular prouiſions to whomſoeuer the ſame was granted? And yet, as if the crow had ingendered the ſwanne, theſe men will build vp that which their father deſtroyed. Yeeld then ye Guyſards your affected gouernements of Burgondie, Champagne, and Britaine to the domeſticall ſeruants, not to ſtrangers: referre the offices of great maſter, and cham-

chamberlaine, that you ſtole from the houſes of Montmorencie and Longueuille: Giue ouer your titles of Earles and Dukes, wherewith within theſe 25. or thirtie yeares, ye haue ſhadowed your meaneneſſe: and walke in that eſtate wherin your grandfather came into France, weake of goods, poore of honor, and naked of dignitie. But what? yet by their ſaying is the king in their debt, and by their diſcontentment they do ſufficiently ſhew that they wil not ſuffer the nobilitie ſo much as to taſt of thoſe honors wherwith it ought to be ſatiſfied, gleane where they haue reaped, or gather any grapes where they haue made their vintage: do they then terme this the reſtoring of the nobilitie? What aduancement may any French Gētleman look for, when 24. Lorraines muſt haue dined before he ſit downe? & when they muſt be glutted with honors before hee may taſte of any? Or rather why doo we not rather abandon all hope, conſidering that their appetite is vnſatiable, & that they are men, yea men that are ſtarued after honors, thirſtie of goods, & hot with ambition? Moreouer, ſith they wil dazle our eyes with the falſe ſhew of their ſeruices, know we not that they haue anointed our lippes with honie, but made vs ſwallow gall? know we not, ſince the raigne of Francis the ſeconde, they neuer permitted any young peace to waxe old in France? Or who hath not ſeene them more willing to hazard this realme for a pray, then to giue ouer anie iot of their particular paſſions? At all aduentures, was there euer ſuch impudencie as to ſeeke to bring the King to ſuch paſſe that hee ſhall bee forced to reward their pretended

merits, and to let them chooſe their recompence?

Wee reade of a braue Romaine ſouldier that refuſed a chaine of golde at Labienus Ceſars Lieutenants hand, ſaying that he would not haue the wages of the couetous, but of the vertuous: and that Pittacus being by his citizēs forced to take ſo much of the land that hee had conquered of the enimies as he liſted, would take no more then he could caſt his laueling: wee finde that Sicinius was 65. times hurt in the ſtomake, and had beene in 120. battels: that Manlius preſerued the Capitoll: that Camillus expelled the Gaules out of Rome: and that diuers others haue abandoned their liues to the hazard of warres, for the ſeruice of their countrie: we reade that almoſt al the Princes of the noble race of Bourbon, or rather of that Orchard of Alexanders, ſacrifiſing their liues in the ſeruice of our kings, haue had no other hearſe but the field of battel: Peter of Bourbō was ſlaine the 19. of September 1356. at the battell of Poictiers: Iames and his ſonne Peter at the battell of Brunay neere Lyons: Lewes at Agincourt fielde, 1415. Francis at the battell of S. Brigit vpon holy roode day in Septēber 1515. Iohn at ſaint Lawrence field 1557. Antony at the ſiege of Roan 1562. We find that many french knights haue prodigally ſpent their blood in the ſeruice of our kings: but that any haue ſought violentlie to wreſt the reward of their merits we find not. Only we read that one Sigibert gouernor of Coloine, euery where ſhewing his wounds, & cōplaining of his ſmall recompence was by Clouis the firſt, depriued of al his dignities: and yet theſe good childrē ſhal force the K.

to

to part his eſtate with them. And what king, ye vnſatiable glotons, what eſtate can ſatisfie your hunger? What ſea, ye dropſicke perſons, what waters can quench your thirſt? Or who can fill the perced veſſels of the Danaides? Of ſtrangers they haue beene made houſholde ſeruants: of Gentlemen, Dukes & Earles: to aduance them we haue made a breach in the authoritie of the princes of the bloud: to preferre them, a thouſande braue gentlemen haue bin put backe: ſo as Sir, they want no more but the crowne, which God, the grounded law and cuſtome of the realme, haue ſet vpon your head: and yet do they gape after goods, greatneſſe and glorie: or rather they vnfolde all meanes to winne the heartes of the nobilitie, and to bring vpon you the hatred of the ſame. For with what impudency can they deny that to be their intent? You (O moſt chriſtian king) are the father of this great family, and Pilote of this French ſhip. If the Offices of the houſe be euill deuided, or the ſhip miſgouerned, is not the father in the fault, and the Pilote to blame? The 6. pretence of the Guizians.

¶ It is in manner the ſame argument that they haue begunne, wherewith to bring the commons to reuolt againſt his Maieſtie. For they ſet before vs one that is naked of fatte, fleſh, and bloud: they figure vs an anatomie of mans body, hauing no more but skinne and bones, which they ſay, the Frenchmen do by a woonderfull ſimpathie reſemble: that we muſt reſtore and make vp againe this poore bodie, that we muſt cure it of this wound, that themſelues will be the Chirurgions, and their weapons the plaiſters: but who is ſo blinde as for ſundry conſiderations

ſiderations not to iudge this propoſition to haue a very bad ſauour?

Firſt, becauſe it toucheth the kings honor whom by this meanes with hue and crie they proclayme a Tyrant: and withall do endeuour to entangle him in the ſame miſhappe as Acheus king of the Lidians, whom his ſubiectes ſlew for the tributes which hee went about to exact. Or as Henrie king of Sueden, Theodorick king of France, and many other Princes, who for like cauſe haue beene depriued of their eſtates. Secondly, becauſe, (as ſayth Plutarch) it is not his part that falleth, to lift vp: that knoweth nothing, to teach: that is diſordered, to order: that is vnruly, to rule: or that can not obey, to cõmand: but as ſayde Licurgus, a man muſt ſhew a thing in himſelfe, that he wiſheth to be in others. This was the reaſon, wherefore they mocked Philip k. of Macedon, who liuing at variance with his wife Olympiades and his ſonne Alexander, was inquiſitiue of the Grecian life among thẽſelues. If therefore the Guiſards do miſlike the kings loanes, let not themſelues borrow: If they will needs diſcharge the people, let thẽ leaue the heauie burden of debtes that hangeth vpõ their own armes & ſtop their creditors mouths that dayly doo cry after them. But wherein will not they reſemble Sulpitius, a man confect in all miſchief, who hauing by the voice of the people paſſed a decree that no Senator ſhould borrow aboue 200 crownes, at his death owed 3. hundred thouſand.

Plut. in Silla.

The third reaſon is ciuill: for by the lawes it lyeth not in the meaner magiſtrate to cõmãd the greater, neither may he reſiſt the iudgement of his ſuperior,

as

as ſayth the Emperour Iuſtinian, or correct his acts, either take notice of appeales from him, as Vlpian ſaith: yea if he chance to admitte any accuſations againſt his ſuperiour, he may be taken for a partie, and called into an action of iniurie: as Cæſar when he being but Prętor, was accuſed before a Quæſtor to be a partie in the conſpiracie of Cateline, he cauſed the iudge to be cõdemned in great fines, *becauſe* (ſayth Suetonius) *he ſuffered a greater magiſtrate to be accuſed before him*. Alſo by decree of the Parliament the 7. of Ianuarie, 1547. all inferiour iudges were forbidden to vſe any defences againſt the royall iudges, becauſe by an auncient ſaying, *The leſſer may not commande the greater*, Doth it then beſeeme the Guiſardes to receiue the peoples complaintes, to take notice of the kinges actions, or to limitte the kinges will? Beſides, ſith that vnder the benefite of peace, tilled by his Maieſties wiſedome, the people were freed from ſundrie impoſitions, what need we now counterfeit Hercules, Dyon, Timoleon or Aratus, who were intituled correctors of tirãts? muſt we vſe ſuch corroſiue medicines where there was ſcarce any ſore, & where paſſed calamities were buried vnder the law Amneſtia? wold right that we ſhould preuent the way of Iuſtice by the way of deede? were it reaſon the ſeruant ſhould preſcribe a law to his maſter? Is it not the cuſtome in caſe of exceſſiue exactions to haue recourſe to the eſtates, as we had in the yeare 1338. in the time of Philip of Valois? Otherwiſe to proceede to fire and ſworde before wee lay any playſters, is to feſter, not to cloſe vppe the wounde: to empaire, not

Suetonius in Iulio.

not to amende the condition of the people, which had neuer good ſucceſſe againſt their king: vnder Philip the faire, anno, 1312. vnder Charles the ſixt, about the yeare 1382. and vnder Henry the ſecond, the people oppreſſed with extraordinarie taxes, ſought by force to ſhake off that yoke, but the whole ſtorme light vppon themſelues. Not that I meane herein to imitate Anaxarchus, who to the ende to comfort Alexander, who was oppreſſed with ſorrowe for the murder of Clitus, tolde him that *Dice & Themis*, that is, iuſtice and equitie, are Iupiters aſſiſtors, thereby to ſhew that whatſoeuer the princes actions can be no other but iuſt and right: but contrariwiſe I ſay, that it is euill done to waſt treaſures prodigally, and to oppreſſe the ſubiectes: as Tiberius Cæſar ſaide, It is the part of a good ſhepheard to ſheare his ſheepe, not to flea them. I ſay with Seneca, the more lawfull that all thinges are to the king, the leſſe lawfull they are. And that the father is not more bounde to the bringing vp of his children, or the nurſe to giue them her breaſt, then is the Prince to the protection of his ſubiectes: But withall I ſay, that reſiſting the power by God eſtabliſhed, we reſiſt his ordinance: alſo that it would proue a dangerous gappe & of great conſequence, if conſpirators might by force and violence proceed to reformation, as do theſe factious perſons that manifeſtly do aſpire to the crowne: which is the thing that hath armed them: neyther muſt theſe hypocrites alter the occaſion, for at whom are they greeued? Not at the third eſtate: for as they ſay, they purpoſe to diſcharge the ſame of the burden of

ſubſidies:

ſubſidies : neither at the nobilitie : for it they will reſtore to the auncient dignitie: neither at the Clergie : for they go about to reeſtabliſh the Church in hir ancient liberties: neyther at the Proteſtantes: for they ſhew all fauour to ſundry of them, beſides that heretofore they haue ſought to giue them a deſire to come vnder the couert of their protection, therein reſembling (but with this gloſe, if the Proteſtantes be heretikes) the God of the Planetiades who expelling the wicked by one gate, let them in ag..inc at an other. It is then the king that they ſhoot at: the Princes of the bloud: Iuſtice: yea it is all good Frenchmen that they are offended withall: and yet do they liue, yea they liue in greatneſſe and glorie, and are eſteemed faithfull in their diſobedience: loyall, in their diſloyaltie: true, in their falſeſhoode: peace maſters in their bloudie warres: zealous to the common-wealth in their priuate commoditie: fathers of the people in exactions, and pillers of the Church in their ſacrileges: This is the cauſe O eternall God that haſt ſo long fauoured the French Monarchie, that we do preſent to thee our teares, our ſighes and ſobbes : for what elſe may a torne people, rent in peeces with a thouſande miſchiefes, and choked with forren tyranny, preſent vnto thee. O Lord in their anguiſh they viſite thee, and thy diſcipline cauſeth them in complayntes to crie vnto thee. Sith therefore thou art pitifull, take from vs the torch of thy indignation, couer our faultes with thy grace, and diſplay thy prouidence vpon this miſerable eſtate . Let thy iſſue be prepared as the breake of the day, and come

Plut. de defect. orat.

vnto vs as the ſlow raine and ſeaſonable vppon the earth. Wherefore, O almightie God, who art the Iuſticer, ſith thy fury traceth like the fire, & that the rockes do cleaue before thy face, plead O Lord with plague & bloud with theſe infamous monſters, who delight only in murder and crueltie: Come vpon thē in a ſtorme, and let thy pathes be in a tempeſt: giue them to be a ſlander and curſe in all places. Send vpon them famine and ſword: and make them O God to reape the whirle winde, becauſe they ſowe the winde. And you O moſt chriſtian king, weene not in reading this to heare the voice of a mutinous people, and ſuch as deſire domeſticall troubles, but rather Sir, the mournings, and as it were the laſt ſobs of your poore ſubiects: Hearken O mercifull king to the complaints of your France, which is deuided into factions, ſpoyled by the ſtranger, and couered with ſores. Is it not enough (ſayth ſhe) that man is borne in teares, growe vp in ſighes, liue in payne, and finiſh his life in griefes, but he muſt be made vtterly miſerable? Is it not enough that beeing bauled at of my enemies, I haue groned vnder the burden of ſo many forraine warres, but that my owne children muſt pearce my flankes, plucke out my guttes, and bath themſelues in my bloud? Is it not enough that the plague conſume mee, but I muſt bee waſted with famine? Is it not enough that I periſh with hunger, but that warres muſt haſten my death? Is it not enough that I become a fable to ſtrangers, but they muſt drinke my bloud, gnawe my bones and ſucke vp the marrowe of my children? And if (as the wiſe man ſaith)

ſayth) the multitude of people bee the Crowne of the King, and that the principall lawe that God and nature hath giuen vnto Princes, is the preſeruation of their ſubiectes, wherefore, moſt Chriſtian king, doo you authorize the hangmen of your people? If good Princes doo ſeare for their ſubiectes, and Tyrantes their ſubiectes, why doo you (O Prince) take weapons in the middeſt of your ſubiectes: or rather, why doo you not arme your ſelfe for the defence of Frenchmen againſt ſtrangers?

If ſir, there be no queſtion of your owne remayning in your countrie onely, but alſo that your countrie muſt dwell in it ſelfe, as Camillus ſayde to the Romaines, will you ſuffer your France to be made a butcherie, a graue, and a wilderneſſe? If, as it was ſayde to Denis the Tyrant of Siracuſe, tirannous domination is no beautifull monument to be buried in, what braue ſepulchre may a king haue in a lande all tainted with the bloud of his poore ſubiectes? If, as a certaine Romaine ſayde, Cæſar faſtened his images by rayſing thoſe of Pompey, what footing may your eſtate take by authoriſing the neareſt of your bloud? If, as ſayde Iaſon the tyrant of Theſſaly, it be neceſſarie to doo wrong in retayle to the end to doo right in groſſe, what were it to redeeme publike peace with the life of two or three rebelles? If a king ought rather to feare dooing euill, then receiuing euill, as the one beeing cauſe of the other: and that hee dooth euill, that hindereth not the doing of euill when he may; will you Sir, ſuffer ſo many bloudie

murders to bee committed vnder your name and authoritie: and (which is more) by thoſe that clayme to them ſelues the branches of Charlemagne: that doo euen by trompet ſounde you a Tyrant, and that doo turmoyle both heauen and earth, to pull vppon you the hatred of the Clergie, of the Nobilitie, and of the people? Shall it bee ſayde, that vnder your ſcepter theſe young harebraynes, theſe loſt children of fortune, haue with incredible boldneſſe troden downe your edictes, violated your lawes, ſtrangeled the peace whereto you were ſo ſolemnely ſworne, and robbed and murdered your poore ſubiectes? Can you without horrour heare of their bloudie ſlaughters; without pittie, of the deſtruction of your townes: without teares, of the deſolation of your ſubiectes, and without greeuous diſpleaſure, of that eaſe which the ſtrangers doo reape in your trauayles? Conſider moſt mercifull king, that they thruſt the knife into your handes wherewith to ſhedde your owne bloud: that the rigour of your weapons lighteth vpon your ſubiectes: that getting the victorie ouer them, you can not triumph, but in your owne ſhame, neyther gaine, but in your owne loſſe: that thoſe are to bee feared that doo nothing but vpon neceſsitie, that haue no hope but in diſpaire: that looke for no peace, but in warre, and that haue nothing left but weapons and courage. That the deſtruction of the Princes of the bloud, and of the members and ſubiectes of the eſtate can not be far from the inceuitable deſtruction of your crowne: That extremitie changeth humanity into furie, clemencie,

mencie into diſpaire, and obedience into rebellion. That there be certaine vertues that do openly fight againſt the enimies, as force and valiancie, but that thoſe are beſt which do vndermine the aduerſaries hearts, as faith, clemencie and mercie: That the courſe of reaſon muſt ſtay the Princes power, in imitating the ſame, which when it is at the higheſt in the North part, walketh more ſlowly and by ſlackneſſe maketh his courſe more aſſured. Conſider that thoſe whom with fire and ſword they purſue, are the ſame children to whome you are a father: the ſheepe to whom you are a ſheepheard: the ſeruants to whom you are a maſter, the ſubiects to whom you are a king: euen the ſame ſubiects to whome of late you pawned your faith. And ſith it is accounted among matters of fortune, if a Prince breaketh promiſe, ſith it is a warrant to his ſubiects of their mutal oblagitions: with farre greater reaſon is he debter to iuſtice in his owne deed. Taint not therfore ſir your ſo pure and cleaine faith, neither make it a ſlaue to the paſſions of a few ſeditious perſons. The people beholdeth you as the ſunne that ſhineth equally vpon al: let your loue therefore be generall (if you deſire to be beloued, for loue naturally wil begin at the moſt perfect) of the true Prince to his ſubiectes: of the true father to his children, and by a certaine reflection the children do loue the father, and the ſubiects the Prince.

If in your opinion any hereſie buddeth foorth in France: if there bee any maime in the Church, let it pleaſe your maieſtie to conſider that the wounde lieth in the ſoules of the heretikes: that the ſoule is

a ſpirituall thing, which neither fire, nor water can bite: that for obtaining the victorie thereof, you muſt be armed with ſpiritual weapons: that the diſeaſe is not cured by the diſeaſe, that to lay a neceſſitie where God leaueth a libertie, is to make a mortall wound in the conſcience: that onely rigor cauſeth not men to change aduice, but for the moſt part maketh them more reſolute and to perſeuer: That religion cannot be aduanced by the deſtruction of the eſtate, and that the eſtate is ſcattered by the diſſipation of the ſubiectes. And if there be nothing vppon earth more greater, ormore religious then your maieſtie, it may pleaſe you to ſet before you the example of 300. biſhoppes that were in the Councell of Nice 150. in the Councell of Conſtantinople: 200. in the Councell of Epheſus, and 630. in the Councell of Calcedon, who all were of opinion to vſe no other wepons thē Gods word againſt Arrius, Macedonius, Neſtorius & Eutiches, monſters conuicted of hereſie and blaſphemy againſt the holy Trinitie. Let your maieſtie, if it pleaſe you, caſt your view vpon the clemencie of Auguſtus toward the Iewes, to whō hee ſent his ordinary almes, and ſacrifices to Hieruſalem: vppon Theodoricke king of the Gothes, who being a fauorer of the Arrians would not force the conſciences of his ſubiects: vppon the king of the Turkes, who ſent his almes to the Calogers, Chriſtian religious perſons of mount Athos, to the end they might pray to God for him: vpon the Pope, who ſuffereth the Iewes to ſet foote in Italie: vppon the Emperor Charles the fift, who by prouiſion at Auſbourge 1530. gran-

ted that peace which we call of the religion, and in the yeare 1555. conuerted the ſaide prouiſion into a perpetuall edict: vpon your realme of Poland and Boheme, wherein ſundrie religions do floriſh: And yet onely in your realme of France ſhall they endeuour to plant faith by armes? Other Princes do liue in peace, and you ſir are wrapped in continual wars. After their example moſt courteous Prince then, change the labors of your poore ſubiects into reſt, and their miſſortunes into proſperitie. And nowe that it ſeemeth God hath choſen your raigne to the end vnder the ſame to repaire the breaches of his church, with both your hands, ſeiſe vpon this heauenly gift: prepare a councel, a ſchoole of ſaluation, wherein the blinde in faith may bee lightened, the diſeaſed conſciences healed, the darkeneſſe of hereſies expelled, and the truth may ſhine forth: ſo ſhal God be ſerued of you, you of your ſubiects, and this realme ſet free from the miſeries that doo now oppreſſe it. *This ſhalbe the right felicitie of a good king.*

FINIS.